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TRANSACTIONS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

VOL. XLVI.

LYDIATE HALL, LANCASHIRE.

IN THE QUADRANGLE. THE PORCH.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

Lancashire and Cheshire.

FOR THE YEAR 1894.—VOLUME XLVI.

NEW SERIES.—VOLUME X.

LIVERPOOL:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1895.

J. Clark
4-6-1923

The authors of papers alone are responsible for the facts and opinions expressed in their several communications.

The present volume has been prepared for the press by R. D. RADCLIFFE, M.A., Ch. Ch. Oxford, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary and Editor.

421110

LIST OF SOCIETIES IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Royal Historical and Archæological Society of Ireland.
Royal Archæological Institute, London.
Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Kent Archæological Society.
Somersetshire Archæological Society.
Sussex Archæological Society.
Chester Archæological Society.
Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society.
Leicestershire Archæological Society.
Yorkshire Antiquarian and Topographical Association.
Shropshire Archæological Society.
Architectural and Archæological Society of Lincoln and Notts.
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Suffolk Archæological Institute.
New England Genealogical Society.

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COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, FOR THE YEAR 1895.

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Vice-Presidents.

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THOMAS GLAZEBROOK RYLANDS, F.S.A., *Ex-President.*
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THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LATHOM.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,
THE REV. THE RECTOR OF LIVERPOOL.
JOHN RUSKIN, LL.D.
JOHN PAUL RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Members of Council.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1895.

JOHN HARGREAVES.
HENRY PEET, F.S.A.
A. M. ROBINSON.
W. O. ROPER.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1896.

E. W. COX.
GEORGE GRAZEBROOK, F.S.A.
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J. G. PRENTICE.

TO SERVE TO END OF 1897.

W. D. H. DEANE, M.A.
T. ALGERNON EARLE.
LIEUT.-COL. FISHWICK, F.S.A.
REV. A. E. P. GRAY, M.A., F.S.A.

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G. T. SHAW.

Hon. Curator.

CHARLES POTTER.

Hon. Secretary and Editor.

R. D. RADCLIFFE, M.A., Ch. Ch., Oxon., F.S.A.

Hon. Assistant Secretaries.

T. N. MORTON.
W. FERGUSSON IRVINE.

Officers of the Society since commencement.

Presidents.

1.	Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire	1848.
2.	Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire	1854.
3.	General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L.	1855.
4.	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.	1863.
5.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c.	1866.
6.	Rev. Canon Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.	1869.
7.	The Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester	1875.
8.	Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, F.S.A., &c.	1879.
9	Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Oxford, F.S.A.	1885.
10.	RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, D.D.	1889.

Secretaries.

1848.	Rev. A. Hume. LL.D., and H. C. Pidgeon.	
1851.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.	
1854.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	
		Assistant Secretaries.
1855.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	Thomas G. Wedgwood.
1856.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	W. W. Rundell.
1857.	Rev. A. Hume, LL.D.	J. H. Genn.
1864.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	J. H. Genn.
1867.	David Buxton.	Charles Dyall.
1875.	David Buxton.	[Arthur Wakefield.]
1876.	David Buxton.	Eugenio Londini.
1877.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	Eugenio Londini.
1882.	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1884.	E. M. Hance, LL.B. R. D. Radcliffe, M.A.	T. N. Morton.
1888.	R. D. Radcliffe, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. Morton.
1892.	R. D. RADCLIFFE, M.A., F.S.A.	T. N. MORTON. W. F. IRVINE.

Treasurers.

1848.	Thomas Avison, F.S.A.
1860.	William Burke.
1867.	John G. Jacob.
1886.	H. D. ESHELBY, F.S.A.

	Librarians.	Curators.
1848.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
1851.	Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.	Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.
1859.	David Buxton.	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1867.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1869.	Nicholas Waterhouse.	H. Ecroyd Smith.
1871.	John R. Hughes.	H. Ecroyd Smith.
1875.	John R. Hughes.	J. Harris Gibson.
1876	C. T. Gatty, F.S.A.	J. Harris Gibson.
1877.	E. M. Hance, LL.B.	J. Harris Gibson.
1880.	*(Offices in abeyance.)*	
1885.	W. Thompson Watkin.	J. Harris Gibson.
1886.	W. Thompson Watkin.	W. Forshaw Wilson.
1889.	George T. Shaw.	W. C. Ashby Pritt.
1889.	G. T. SHAW.	CHARLES POTTER.

N.B.—It is requested that notice be given to the Secretary of any errors, change of address, or death.

LIST OF MEMBERS,

Corrected to 31st August, 1895.

The names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS, and those of Resident Members have an asterisk attached.

Date of Election.	
1889. April 4	*Abraham, Miss E. C. Riverham, Grassendale Park, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	*Abraham, Thomas Fell. 53 Bidston road, Oxton.
1877. Feb. 22	Adshead, George Haward. Fern Villas, 94 Bolton road, Pendleton, Manchester.
1889. Jan. 10	*Alsop, J. W., B.A. 14 Castle street, Liverpool.
1893. Jan. 12	*Angus, John H. Upton road, Bidston, Cheshire.
1889. Feb. 21	Arkle, Richard Naylor, M.A. 13 Old square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
1895. Feb. 7	Ashworth, Alfred. Tabley Grange, Knutsford.
1888. Mar. 22	*Athenæum Library, Liverpool.
1889. Feb. 7	*Atkinson, Wm. Christopher. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool.
1890. Jan. 23	*Ayrton, William. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.
1886. Nov. 18	*Banner, John S. Harmood. Puddington Hall, Neston, Cheshire.
1889. Mar. 7	*Bartlett, William. Highfield House, Knotty Ash, Liverpool.
1892. Feb. 25	*Beazley, Edwin A. 25 Water street, Liverpool.
1891. Dec. 3	*Bell, Henry. Greenfield, West Kirby, Cheshire.
1864. Dec. 1	*Benas, B. L. 5 Prince's avenue, Liverpool.
1889. Mar. 7	*Bencke, Albert Henry, M.A. Bentham, West Derby, Liverpool.
1884. Nov. 13	Bennett, Henry. Rock Cottage, Bedminster, Bristol.

Date of Election.	
1894. April 5	*Bennett, Richard. Nottingham Buildings, 19, Brunswick street, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 29	*Birchall, Charles. The Laurels, Church street, Egremont, Birkenhead.
1891. Feb. 19	Birley, Major Hugh Arthur. Woodside, Knutsford.
1889. Oct. 31	Birmingham Central Free Library. Ratcliff place, Birmingham.
1888. Nov. 15	Bispham, William. 12 Eighteenth street West, New York, U.S.A.
1870. April 7	Blackburn Free Library. Blackburn.
1895. Feb. 21	*Blackburne, Peter. Waterloo.
1891. Feb. 5	Bleckly, William Henry. Thelwall Lea, Warrington.
1883. Mar. 8	Blundell, Rev. T. B. H., M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool; Hon. Chaplain to Her Majesty the Queen. Halsall Rectory, Ormskirk.
1888. Mar. 22	Bodleian Library. Oxford.
1890. Nov. 6	*Bootle Free Library. Oriel road, Bootle.
1888. Mar. 22	Boston Athenæum. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Paternoster house, Charing Cross rd., London, W.C.
1889. Jan. 10	Boston Public Library. Boston, U.S.A.; c/o Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
1853. Dec. 15	Bossi, Arthur. Care of Thompson, Melly & Co., Brown's Buildings, Liverpool.
1881. Dec. 1	Bourne, Robert W. 18 Hereford square, London, S.W.
1889. Feb. 21	*Bradbury, George. 14 Cook street, Liverpool.
1890. Feb. 20	*Brakell, Henry Edward. 15 Penkett road, Liscard, Cheshire.
1891. Feb. 5	Bretherton, Rev. Humphrey W., M.A. Eccleston Rectory, Chorley.
1891. Nov. 5	British Museum Library; c/o Messrs. Dulau and Co. 37 Soho square, London, W.
1876. April 20	Bromley, James, The Homestead, Lathom, Ormskirk.
1888. Feb. 23	Brooke, Colonel Thomas, F.S.A. Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield.

Date of Election.	
1868. Feb. 6	Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A. Barlow Hall, Manchester.
1872. April 4	Broughton, Frederick. Hamilton, Canada.
1891. Mar. 19	*Brown, Jacob G. 20 Brompton avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1893. Mar. 23	*Browne, Henry B. Norcot, Poulton road, Seacombe.
1881. Jan. 27	Burnley Literary and Scientific Club. Burnley.
	Bury Co-operative Society. Bury.
1879. Jan. 9	Caraher, Hugh. Boyne Lodge, Abbey road, Llandudno.
1885. Jan. 22	Caröe, W. D. 35 New Bond st., London, W.
1888. Nov. 15	Carrington, W. A. Bakewell, Derbyshire.
1894. Nov. 1	*Carson, Thomas Ellis. 62 Grove street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	Castle, Egerton, M.A., F.S.A. 49 Sloane gardens, London, S.W.
1889. Feb. 21	*Caton, Richard, M.D. Rodney street, Liverpool.
1888. Dec. 13	Chadwick, Edwin. Mottram road, Stalybridge.
1889 Jan. 10	Chester, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of, D.D. The Palace, Chester, *President.*
1879. Jan. 9	Chetham Library. Manchester.
1893. Feb. 23	Chicago Public Library. Chicago, U.S.A.
1859. April 14	Clement, Leonard. Forest View, Nelson-in-Marsden, Burnley.
1892. Nov. 3	*Cockbain, T. Herbert. 19 James street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Cook, Edmund. Hornby Villa, Hoylake, Cheshire.
1855. May 24	*Comber Thomas. B 13 Exchange Buildings, Liverpool.
1894. Nov. 1	*Cornett, Alfred. 15 Lord street, Liverpool.
1889. Mar. 7	*Cox, Edward W. Foxcovers, Bebington, Birkenhead.
1888. Nov. 15	Crane, John C. West Millbury, Mass., U.S.A.
1889. Feb. 21	*Crosfield, John D. Forest Hey, Northwich.

Date of Election.	
1889. Mar. 7	Crosse, Colonel Thomas Richard. Shaw Hill, Chorley.
1888. Mar. 22	Darwen Free Public Library. Darwen.
1888. Nov. 1	Day, Robert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. 3 Sidney place, Cork.
1890. Jan. 23	*Deane, W. D. H., M.A. New College, Arundel avenue, Sefton park, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	*Dempsey, Miss Ellinor Mary. The Grange, Noctorum, Birkenhead.
1893. Nov. 30	Derby, The Earl of, G.C.B. Knowsley, Prescot, *Vice-President.*
1892. Nov. 3	Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. (Per B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar square, London, W.C.)
1857. April 23	Devonshire, The Duke of, K.G. Chatsworth, Chesterfield.
1890. Jan. 23	Dickinson, John. c/o E. Dickinson, Newark Park, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire.
1894. Nov. 15	*Dunthorne, Edwin E. 27 Lord street, Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22	Earle, Hardman Arthur. 7 Hill street, Rutland Gate, London, S.W.
1890. Feb. 20	Earle, Major Henry, D.S.O. Westfield, Cambridge.
1888. Feb. 9	*Earle, T. Algernon. Hartford, Cheshire.
1894. April 5	*Eccles, Edgar. Oakhill, Roby.
1891. Mar. 5	Ecroyd, W. Lomeshaye Mills, Burnley.
1890. Jan. 9	Eden John. Colwyn, North Wales.
1851. Jan. 7	Egerton of Tatton, The Lord. Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire.
1891. Mar. 19	*Elliot, Robert J. 111 Chatham street, Liverpool.
1891. Jan. 22	Ellis, Thomas Ratcliffe. 18 King street, Wigan.
1889. Oct. 31	Esdaile, George. The Old Rectory, Platt-in-Rusholme, Manchester.
1886. Nov. 18	*Eshelby, H. Douglas, F.S.A. 80 Shrewsbury road, Oxton, Birkenhead, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Date of Election.	
1848. Nov. 23	Evans, Edward. Bronwylfa, Wrexham.
1878. Jan. 10	Fairclough, John. Latchford Grange, Warrington.
1871. Jan. 12	Ferguson, William, F.C.S., F.G S., F.R.S.E. Kilmundy House, near Mintlaw, N.B.
1891. Feb. 19	ffarington, Lieut.-Col. R. A. Mariebonne, Wigan.
1888. Nov. 15	*Finney, Charles F. Huyton House, Huyton.
1880. April 1	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A. The Heights, Rochdale.
1891. Mar. 19	*Fletcher, Mrs. Alfred. Allerton House, Woolton, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	Formby, John. Formby Hall, Formby.
1891. Dec. 3	*Fox, John D. 29, Rocky lane, Anfield, Liverpool.
1857. May 7	Frackleton, Rev. S. S., A.M. Glenone Rectory, Port Glenone, County Antrim, Ireland.
1853. Dec. 15	Franks, Sir Augustus Woollaston, K.C.B., M.A., F.R.S., P.S.A. British Museum, London.
1875. Jan. 7	Garnett, William. Quernmore Park, Lancaster.
1890. Jan. 9	*Gatehouse, Charles. Westwood, Noctorum, Birkenhead.
1880. Nov. 18	Gatty, A. S., M.A., F.S.A. York Herald, Herald's College, London.
1867. April 11	*Genn, John Hawke. Rutland House, Nicholas road, Blundellsands.
1892. Dec. 1	*Gill, Chapple. Lower Lee, Woolton.
1862. Mar. 6	Gladstone, Right Hon. William Ewart, M.P. Hawarden Castle, Flintshire, *Vice-President.*
1889. Feb. 21	*Gladstone, Robert. Harrington street, Liverpool.
1886. April 15	*Glazebrook, Thomas T. 7 Brunswick street, Liverpool.
1893. Nov. 2	*Goffey, Thomas. Amalfi, Blundellsands, Liverpool.

Date of Election.	
1881. Jan. 27	*Gray, Rev. Andrew E. P., M.A., F.S.A. The Rectory, Wallasey, Cheshire.
1889. Nov. 14	*Gregson, Wm. Eugene. 43 Moor lane, Great Crosby.
1854. Aug. 31	Grenside, Rev. William Bent, M.A. Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
1892. Jan. 28	*Grierson, Geo. 12 Paradise street, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Grylls, A. C., M.A. Newton School, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
1874. Dec. 10	*Hance, E. M., LL.B. School Board Office, Dale street, Liverpool.
1890. Nov. 6	*Hannay, A. M. 5, Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1883. Jan. 25	*Hargreaves, John. Egerton Park, Rock Ferry.
1894. April 5	*Harris, George. 35 Fairview road, Oxton, Cheshire.
1891. Feb. 5	*Harrison, Frederick J. Mersey chambers, Old churchyard, Liverpool.
1891. Feb. 5	Head, Robert. West Lodge, Congleton.
1895. Feb. 7	*Heyn, G. P. Forwood. C 18 Exchange buildings, Liverpool.
1848. Nov. 23	Heywood James, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S. 26 Kensington Palace gardens, London, W.
1894. April 5	*Hill, J. E. Gray. Mere Hall, Oxton, Cheshire.
1872. Sept. 5	Hinmers, W. Cleveland House, Lancaster road, Eccles, Manchester.
1890. Nov 6	*Holland, Edgar S. Stoneleigh, Liscard, Cheshire.
1891. Nov. 5	*Holland, Walter. Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 19	Hope, Thomas H. The Laburnums, Atherton, Manchester.
1890. Feb. 20	*Hornby, Hugh Frederick. Sandown Lodge, Wavertree, Liverpool.
1895. Mar. 7	*Hoult, James, Jun. 38 Derwent road, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
1888. Dec. 13	Hovenden, Robert, F.S.A. Heathcote, Park Hill road, Croydon.
893. Nov. 2	*Hudson, R. W. Bidston court, Bidston, Cheshire.

Date of Election.			
1890.	Jan.	23	Hughes, George. Metropolitan Bank, Oxford.
1887.	Mar.	24	Hutton, Wm. L. "*Advertiser*" Office, Ormskirk.
1891.	Nov.	5	Ireland, National Library of, c/o Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin.
1893.	Nov.	2	*Irven, Mrs. John D. The Cottage, Bidston, Birkenhead.
1890.	Nov.	6	*Irvine, Wm. Fergusson. 18 Devonshire road, Claughton, Birkenhead, *Hon. Assistant Secretary*.
1889.	Oct.	31	*Ismay, Thomas Henry. Dawpool, Birkenhead.
1882.			James, Francis. 190 Cromwell road, London, S.W.
1891.	Feb.	5	Jeans, William Dampier. Great Sankey, Warrington.
1888.	Nov.	1	Johnson, J. H. West Lindeth, Silverdale, Carnforth.
1888.	Feb.	9	*Joynson, Tertius. Long View, Liscard, Birkenhead.
1890.	Nov.	6	Kent-Green, Mrs. Edward. Claughton Rectory, Lancaster.
1891.	Feb.	5	Kenyon, Rev. the Hon. W. T., M.A. Malpas Rectory, Cheshire.
1890.	Nov.	6	*Kerfoot-Jones, J. 32 Rodney street, Liverpool.
1863.	Nov.	5	*King, John Thomson. 4 Clayton square, Liverpool.
1890.	Dec.	4	*Kirk, William. 15 Lord street, Liverpool.
1894.	Feb.	22	*Kissick, Thomas. 21 Wellington street, Waterloo.
1888.	Nov.	15	Knowles, Peter. Warrington.
1872.	April	4	Lathom, The Earl of. Lathom House, Ormskirk, *Vice-President*.
1888.	Nov.	29	Lawrence, William Frederick, M.A., M.P. Cowesfield House, Salisbury.
1889.	Feb.	7	*Layton, George. 9 Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1889.	Mar.	7	Leeds, Free Public Library of. Leeds.
1889.	Mar.	7	*Leeming, William. Alder Hey, West Derby, Liverpool.

DATE OF ELECTION.

1887. Dec. 1 *Leslie, Frank John. 15 Union court, Castle street, Liverpool.

1891. Nov. 5 Letts, Rev. Ernest F., M.A. Newton Heath Rectory, Manchester.

1892. Mar. 10 *Lever, James Darcy. The Acres, Bebington, Cheshire.

1892. Feb. 25 *Lever, William Hesketh. Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire.

1889. Feb. 7 *Lister, James. Basil Grange, West Derby.

*Liverpool Free Public Library. William Brown street, Liverpool.

1888. Nov. 1 *Liverpool Library (Lyceum). Bold street, Liverpool.

1893. Nov. 2 *Livesey, John. 10 Water street, Liverpool.

1889. Oct. 31 London, Library of the Corporation of. (Charles Welch, Librarian.) Guildhall, London, E.C.

1892. Feb. 25 *Lyell, George James. 14 Clarence grove, Devonshire park, Birkenhead.

1891. Nov. 5 Mainwaring, Colonel Charles Salusbury, Galtfaenan, Trefnant, R. S. O., N. Wales.

1888. Feb. 9 MARSHALL, GEORGE WILLIAM, LL.D., F.S.A., *Rouge Croix*. College of Arms, Queen Victoria street, London, E.C.

1891. Feb. 19 Mayler, William. 113 Mostyn street, Llandudno.

1889. Mar. 7 *McCubbin, Hugh. Mill Bank House, West Derby.

1887. Feb. 10 *McKay, Professor, M.A. University College, Liverpool.

1888. Mar. 22 Manchester Free Reference Library. King street, Manchester.

1888. Nov. 1 *Mansergh, Jas. Fleming. Clougha, Hargreaves road, Sefton park, Liverpool.

1874. Feb. 18 *Mawdsley, James Platt. 4 Castle street, Liverpool.

1894. April 5 *Mead, William D. Highlands, Prenton hill, Birkenhead.

Date of Election.	
1890. Nov. 6	*Meade-King, Richard R. Sandfield park, West Derby.
1890. Nov. 6	Molyneux, Lt.-Col. Edmund. Warren Lodge, Wokingham, Berks.
1892. Nov. 3	*Morgan, Joseph B. Stand House, Childwall, Liverpool.
1885. Mar. 19	*Morton, Thomas Naylor. 20 Hick's road, Seaforth, *Hon. Assistant Secretary.*
1894. Feb. 22	*Musker, Frank. 68 Walton village, Liverpool.
1888. Nov. 1	Myres, T. Harrison. 15 Chapel street, Preston.
1857. Jan. 15	Naylor, Richard Christopher. Kelmarsh Hall, Northampton.
1893. Feb. 9	Newberry Library. Chicago, U.S.A.
1874. Dec. 10	Nicholson, Major Edward J. 9 Raby place, Bath.
1888. Nov. 1	Norcliffe, Rev. Charles Best, M.A. Langton Hall, Malton, Yorkshire.
1889. Mar. 7	Norris, Edward S. Clifton Villas, Llanelly.
1891. Feb. 5	*Oakshott, Thomas W. Derby House, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.
1881. Dec. 15	Odgers, Rev. James Edwin, M.A., Fellow of University College, London. Bowdon, Cheshire.
1889. Feb. 7	Owen, William. Cairo street Chambers, Warrington.
1888. Mar. 22	Owens' College, c/o J. E. Cornish, 16 St. Ann's square, Manchester.
1891. Dec. 17	Parker, Major John W. R. Browsholme Hall, Clitheroe.
1891. Nov. 5	Park-Yates, Mrs. Sandiway, Northwich.
1891. Feb. 5	Pearson, George. Southside, Wilmslow, Cheshire.
1888. Nov. 15	Pearson, Thomas H. Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
1890. Nov. 6	*Peet, Henry, F.S.A. 97 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.
1860. Mar. 21	Petty, Thomas Shaw. 128 Mount street, London, W.
1894. Nov. 1	*Phipps, S. W. Harlescot, Longland road, Liscard.

Date of Election.	
1877. Dec. 13	Pierpoint, Robert, M.A., M.P. St. Austin's, Warrington.
1890. Dec. 18	Pilkington, Sir George A., Knt. Belle Vue, Lord street West, Southport.
1886. Nov. 18	*Pilkington, Lieut.-Colonel John. Rookwood, Sandown Park, Wavertree.
1894. Nov. 29	*Pilkington, Thomas. Knowsley Cottage, Prescot.
1894. Nov. 1	*Pilkington, William. Roby Hall, Liverpool.
1889. Oct. 31	*Poole, Sir James, Knt. Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1878. Feb. 7	*Potter, Charles. 101 Miles street, Toxteth Park, Liverpool, *Hon. Curator.*
1887. Mar. 24	Powell, Rev. Edward. Lydiate, Maghull.
1890. Feb. 20	*Prentice, John George. 62 Shrewsbury road, Birkenhead.
1892. Feb. 11	*Price, William F. Myers road West, Great Crosby.
1892. Nov. 3	Pritt, Miss G. A. Lonsdale. Saddlewood, Leamington.
1889. Feb. 21	*Quiggin, John M. 8 Harrington street, Liverpool.
1889. Oct. 31	*Radcliffe, Sir David, Knt. Thurstaston Hall, Birkenhead.
1888. Feb. 9	*Radcliffe, Frederick M. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.
1879. Jan. 8	*Radcliffe, Richard Duncan, M.A., F.S.A., Darley, Old Swan, Liverpool, *Hon. Secretary.*
1892. Nov. 3	Radclyffe, C. R. Eustace (1st Life Guards). The Hyde, Wareham, Dorset.
1879. Dec. 11	*Rathbone, Philip Henry. Greenbank Cottage, Wavertree, Liverpool.
1874. Dec. 10	*Rathbone, Samuel Greg. Croxteth drive, Sefton park, Liverpool.
1889. April 4	*Read, Joseph F. 77A Lord street, Liverpool.
1891. Feb. 5	Reynolds, Rev. Charles L., M.A. Wray Vicarage, Lancaster.
1891. Mar. 19	*Richardson, Richard T. Ullet road, Liverpool.

Date of Election.	
1889. Oct. 31	*Ridgway, Ebenezer. Huyton, Liverpool.
1889. Jan. 10	Ridgway, John Clare. Grappenhall lodge, near Warrington.
1891. Dec. 17	Rigg, George Wilson. Golborne.
1855. Dec. 20	Robin, Rev. P. R., M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester. Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
1890. Nov. 6	*Robinson, Arthur Muschamp. Lorne road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
1891. Nov. 5	*Robinson, Lieut.-Col. Herbert J. Upton Manor, Birkenhead.
1876. April 20	Roper, William O. Yealand Conyers, Lancaster.
1891. Nov. 5	*Roscoe, James. Kirkby.
1889. Oct. 31	Royds, Clement Molyneux. Greenhill, Rochdale.
1888. Nov. 29	*Russell, Sir Edward R., Knt. 6 Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1891. Nov. 5	*Russell, Walter, B.A. 26, Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1870. Nov. 3	*Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A. Heather Lea, Claughton, Birkenhead, *Vice-President.*
1888. Dec. 13	Rylands, John. Thelwall Grange, Warrington.
1854. Dec. 13	Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.I.A. Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington, *Vice-President.*
1874. Dec. 10	Rylands, William Harry, F.S.A. Society of Biblical Archæology, 37 Great Russell street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.
1891. Feb. 19	Ryland, John William. Rowington, Warwick.
1890. Nov. 6	*Ryley, Thomas Cropper. 19 Sweeting street, Liverpool.
1888. Mar. 22	St. Helens Free Public Library. St. Helens.
1872. Mar. 21	Salisbury, The Marquess of, K.G. Hatfield, Herts.
1888. Nov. 15	Sandeman, Lieut.-Col. John Glas, Sub-Officer H.M. Hon. Corps of Gentlemen at Arms. 24 Cambridge square, London, W.
1891. Nov. 19	Sanders, Rev. Francis, M.A. Hoylake Vicarage, Cheshire.

Date of Election.		
1889. Jan.	10	*Scholefield, Joshua William. 33 Pembroke road, Bootle.
1894. Nov.	1	*Scott, David. 10 North John street, Liverpool.
1872. Sept.	5	*Sefton, The Earl of, K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. Croxteth Hall, Liverpool, *Vice-President.*
1893. Nov.	2	*Shallcross, Thomas Myddleton. 25 Lord street, Liverpool.
1853. June	2	Sharp, William. 29 Albert Gate, Hyde Park, London.
1891. Nov.	5	Shaw, Giles. 72 Manchester street, Oldham.
1894. April	5	Sheldon, Alfred S., Town Clerk. Congleton.
1891. Feb.	19	*Shute, Arthur. 67, Hope street, Liverpool.
1891. Feb.	19	*Sill, T. Byrne. 28 Wellington road, Oxton, Birkenhead.
1889. Oct.	31	Simpson, Stephen, M.A. East Cliff House, Preston.
1892. Nov.	3	*Smith, Rev. Frederick. Island road, Garston.
1893. Jan.	12	*Springmann, Miss. Drachenfels, West Derby.
1880. April	1	Stanning, Rev. Joseph Heaton, M.A. The Vicarage, Leigh, Lancashire.
1891. Feb.	5	Stapleton-Bretherton, Frederick. Rainhill Hall, Rainhill.
1884. Nov.	13	Starkie, Lieut.-Colonel Le Gendre Nicholas. Huntroyde, Burnley.
1889. Feb.	7	*Stevens, Charles E. 14 Castle street, Liverpool.
1876. April	6	*Stewart, Rev. Alexander, M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool. 29 Sandon street, Liverpool, *Vice-President.*
1890. Nov.	6	*Stewart, Rev. Percy, M.A. The Rectory, West Derby.
		Stockport Free Public Library. Stockport.
1893. Nov.	2	Stoner, Thomas. The Orchard, Lathom, Ormskirk.
1891. Nov.	5	Stonyhurst College, Rev. the Rector of, S.J. Blackburn.
1891. Mar.	19	Stubs, Peter. Blaisdon Hall, Newnham, Gloucestershire.

Date of Election.		
1893. Mar.	9	Stuttard, Thomas. Lawnswood, Swinton park, Manchester.
1888. Nov.	15	Sulley, Philip, 14 Waterloo place, Edinburgh.
1889. Feb.	7	*Taylor, Francis Willis. 9 Cook street, Liverpool.
1889. April	4	Taylor, Henry. Braeside, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells.
1872. Sept.	5	TAYLOR, JAMES. Rencombe, Gloucestershire.
1887. Feb.	10	TEMPEST, MRS. ARTHUR CECIL. Coleby Hall, Lincoln.
1893. Jan.	12.	*Temple, John. Mossley Bank, Elmswood road, Aigburth.
1891. Dec.	17	*Thomas, Walter A. New Hall, Neston, Cheshire.
1889. Feb.	21	*Thompson, Edward P. Thingwall, Liverpool.
1890. Nov.	6	*Thompson, John. 11 Bentley road, Liverpool.
1891. Jan.	8	Thompson-Yates, Rev. S. A., M.A. 45 Phillimore Gardens, London, W.
1889. Oct.	31	*Thornely, Jas. L. 5 Fenwick street, Liverpool.
1867. Jan.	17	THORP, HENRY. Alderhurst, Marlborough road, Sale, Manchester.
1886. Nov.	1	Threlfall, Henry S. 12 London street, Southport.
1894. April	5	*Tippett, H. Grindon. The Albany, Liverpool.
1888. Feb.	23	Tonge, Rev. Rich., M.A., Hon. Canon of Manchester. 51 South King street, Manchester.
1890. Nov.	6	Tonge, William Asheton. Alderley Edge.
1888. Feb.	23	Toulmin, John. "*Guardian*" Office, Preston.
1889. Oct.	31	*Turton, Fletcher Thomas. Municipal Buildings, Liverpool.
1887. Jan.	20	Unwin, John. Endcliffe Lodge, Southport.
1890. Dec.	18	*Van Gruisen, Nicholas. 27 Bold street, Liverpool.
1848. Nov.	23	VARTY, THOMAS. Stag Stones, Penrith.
1872. Dec.	12	Veevers, R. Woningworth, Fulwood Park, Preston.
1894. Nov.	29	*Vyner, Robert C. de Grey. Newby Hall, Ripon.
1873. Dec.	11	WADDINGTON, W. A. 16 Piccadilly road, Burnley.

Date of Election.	
1889. Oct. 31	*Wainwright, Thos. 21 Leigh street, Liverpool.
1894. April 5	Warburton, Rev. William. Altcar Vicarage, Liverpool.
1887. Dec. 15	Ward, J. Langfield, M.A. Grammar School, Burnley.
1892. Nov. 3	Warrington Museum. Warrington.
1849. Feb. 1	*Webster, George. 6 York Buildings, Dale street, Liverpool.
1891. Mar. 5.	Weeks, W. Self. Clitheroe.
1888. Dec. 13	Weldon, William Henry, *Norroy King of Arms.* College of Arms, London, E.C.
1856. Jan. 3	Welton, Thomas A. 38, St. James's road, Brixton, London, S.W.
1862. Mar. 13	Westminster, The Duke of, K.G., Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire. Eaton Hall, Chester, *Vice-President.*
1891. Feb. 5	White, Rev. W. Stuart, M.A. Esh Vicarage, Durham.
1889. Jan. 10	Wigan Free Library, Wigan.
1895. Mar. 21	*Williams, James. 246 Park road, Liverpool.
1892. Dec. 15	Williams, Rev. J. Wright, M.A. Farnworth Vicarage, Widnes.
1888. Nov. 29	*Willox, John Archibald, M.P. 9 Abercromby square, Liverpool.
1892. Mar. 24	*Wilson, C. F. B. 24 Prince's avenue, Liverpool.
1885. Nov. 26	*Wilson, W. Forshaw. 20 Croxteth road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
1865. Dec. 7	Wood, Richard Henry, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Penrhos House, Rugby.
1891. Nov. 19	Woodhouse, Miss E. D. Burghill Court, Hereford.
1888. Dec. 13	Woods, Sir Albert William, K.C.M.G., C.B., F.S.A., *Garter King of Arms.* College of Arms, London, E.C.
1888. Nov. 29	Worsley, James E., F.S.A. Winwick, Newton-le-Willows.
1892. Nov. 3	Worsley, Philip J. Rodney Lodge, Clifton, Bristol.
1892. Jan. 18	*Wynne, George. *Mercury* office, Liverpool.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Date of Election.	
1885. Nov. 26	*Atherton, Webster. 8 Victoria park, Walton.
1886. Dec. 2	*Dixon, James. 27 Peveril street, Walton.
1893. Nov. 30	Dolan, Dom Gilbert, O.S.B. 4 Great Ormond street, London, W.C.
1889. Dec. 12	Grazebrook, George, F.S.A. Sudbury, Harrow.
1888. Mar. 8	*Shaw, George Thomas. Athenæum, Church street, Liverpool, *Hon. Librarian.*
1894. Nov. 1	*Waite, James A. 6 Fairfield street, Fairfield, Liverpool.
1888. Feb. 9	*Watts, Augustine, M.A. 67 Lord street, Liverpool.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1855. Feb. 1	Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A. The Roos, Saffron-Walden, Essex.
1875. Jan. 7	Coughtrey, Millen. London street, Otago, New Zealand.
1880. Oct. 5	Dean, John Ward. 18 Somerset street, Boston, Mass., United States of America.
1870. Sept. 13	Hooker, Sir Joseph Dalton, C.B. The Camp, Sunningdale, Berkshire.
1854. Sept. 27	Latham, R. Gordon, M.D. 96 Disraeli road, Putney, London.
1870. Sept. 13	Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A. High Elms, Hayes, Beckenham, Kent.
1852. Dec. 9	MacAdam, Robert. 18 College square East, Belfast.
1891. Dec. 3	Oxford, the Lord Bishop of, F.S.A. Cuddesdon Palace, Oxford, *Vice-President.*
1880. Oct. 5	Ruskin, John, LL.D. Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire, *Vice-President.*
1870. Sept. 13	Stokes, Sir George Gabriel, Bart., M.P., P.R.S., LL.D. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

List of Honorary Local Secretaries.

LANCASHIRE.

District.	Name.
Bacup	Rev. J. S. Doxey, Christ Church Vicarage, Bacup.
Blackburn	
Blackpool	The Rev. E. Lupton, Crystal Road, South Shore, Blackpool.
Burnley	W. Ecroyd, Lomeshaye, Burnley.
Carnforth	The Rev. W. B. Grenside, Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
Clitheroe	A. J. Robinson, Clitheroe Castle, Clitheroe.
Colne	James Carr, Colne.
Denton	The Rev. A. Crofton, Reddish Green.
Flixton	D. J. Leech, M.D., Elm House, Whalley Range.
Haslingden	Henry Stephenson, Haslingden.
Hawkshead	Joseph Rawlinson, Ulverston.
Lancaster	W. O. Roper, Lancaster.
Leigh	W. D. Pink, King Street, Leigh.
Leyland	The Rev. W. Stuart White, Esh Vicarage, Durham.
Ormskirk	James Bromley, The Homestead, Lathom.
Prescot	Henry Cross, 19, Castle Street, Liverpool.
Rainford	The Rev. J. W. Williams, The Vicarage, Rainford.
Ribchester	The Rev. F. J. Dickson, The Rectory, Ribchester.
Rochdale	Lt.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A., The Heights, Rochdale.
Sefton	W. E. Gregson, 43, Moor Lane, Great Crosby.
Southport	H. S. Threlfall, 12, London Street, Southport.
Ulverston	The Rev. Canon Bardsley, F.S.A., The Vicarage, Ulverston.
Warrington	W. Owen, F.R.I.B.A., Cairo Street Chambers, Warrington.
Whalley and Pendle Hill	W. S. Weeks, Clitheroe.
Wigan	T. R. Ellis, 18, King Street, Wigan.
Winwick and Newton-le-Willows	Rev. J. Carson, Winwick, Newton-le-Willows.
Wray, near Lancaster	Rev. C. L. Reynolds, Wray Vicarage, Lancaster.

CHESHIRE.

Bebington	E. W. Cox, Highfield, Rock Ferry.
Congleton	Robert Head, Churchyard Corner, Nantwich.
Eastham	Rev. Francis Sanders, Hoylake.
Holmes Chapel ...	Rev. H. G. Barnacle, Holmes Chapel.
Hyde	Rev. J. F. Messenger, Newton Moor Vicarage, Hyde.
Malpas	Rev. the Hon. W. Trevor Kenyon.
Nantwich	James Hall, Lindum House, Nantwich.
Northwich and Middlewich ...	Wm. Bancroft, Northwich.
Thurstaston	Sir David Radcliffe, Knt., Thurstaston Hall.
Wallasey	Rev. A. E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A., The Rectory, Wallasey.
Wilmslow	George Pearson, Southside, Wilmslow.

TRANSACTIONS.

THE ROLL OF BATTLE ABBEY, SO FAR AS IT RELATES TO LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

By Andrew E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A.,
RECTOR OF WALLASEY.

Read 25th January, 1894.

THE consecration of Battle Abbey on February 11th, 1094, is not an event of any historical importance, but it is one that strikes the imagination. Nearly 30 years had passed since the overthrow of the English on the ground, that was now covered by the Abbey buildings, fresh from the hands of the craftsman, and most of those who had taken part in the battle had died. William the Red, the Conqueror's son, was about to set out for Normandy, on an expedition which was intended so far to undo his father's work as to bring Normandy into political subjection to England, and nearly all the Bishops, together with the chief men of England *(omnes fere episcopi una cum principibus Angliæ)* assembled to meet him at Hastings. The minster of "S. Martin "of the Place of Battle" stood ready for consecration, and the King commanded that it should be hallowed at once, whilst he and his host were waiting for a north wind to enable them to cross the channel; and so it came to pass that a vast

concourse of the sons of those who had fought at Senlac came together to the consecration of the Abbey, whose High Altar marked the spot where Harold fell. Unfortunately, only the names of the Bishops are given, and though we know that the majority of the chief men of the land were there, we do not know for certain of any one individual Earl or noble whether he was at the consecration or not. The prelates present, however, are not devoid of interest to us. The Bishop of the diocese (Ralph) was there, though his jurisdiction within the Abbey was strenuously denied by every monk belonging to it; there, too, was the Bishop of the great see of Durham (William), at whose bidding arose the matchless pile with which no other Romanesque building north of the Alps can compare, the most solemn of English cathedrals; there, too, was Bishop Osmund, the compiler of the well-known *Sarum Use;* together with other ecclesiastics, whose names are familiar to all who have studied the eleventh century. But the main interest of the day centres round the King and the Primate, the strangely contrasted rulers of the nation and its Church: William the Red seems out of place at any religious rite, and his presence on such occasions must (one would think) have been rare; but if prayer was to be offered for those who fell on the day of the great battle—for Harold and the English as much as for their conquerors—one could not have chosen fitter lips to offer it than those of Anselm, so essentially a man of peace, and belonging to neither of the nations who had fought on that hill 27 years before.

According to the familiar legend, a Catalogue was then drawn up of the Norman knights, who had crossed with the Conqueror; and this catalogue was placed in the Abbey, in order that their names might not be forgotten in the prayers of the monks.

It is, I trust, needless to say that the Roll of Battle Abbey should be placed side by side (if not on our shelves at any rate in our minds) with the Epistles of Phalaris and other such-like compilations; in this case, however, it does not need the critical acumen of a Bentley to see that the famous Roll is a fiction, drawn up by the hand of some unknown herald at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century; neither will any Atterbury arise (at any rate in a society, like ours, devoted to history) to defend so transparent a forgery. Of this Roll, which never existed, we have three copies, differing largely from one another, but all of them compiled before the beginning of the 17th century, The first of these is in Leland's *Collectanea;* the second is in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, dated 1577; the third was printed a few years later by Stowe. Even a cursory examination shows that none of these copies are of any critical value in determining what families have ancestors who fought in the conquering host at Senlac: take, for instance, the names which relate (in greater or lesser degree) to Lancashire and Cheshire; I have been able to find in Leland 37 of such names, in Holinshed 49, and in Stowe 32; but, if the three lists are joined together, the total rises to 56. Leland has 4 names not given by either of the other copyists, Holinshed 7, and Stowe 3, whilst only 20 are found in all three copies; this leaves 22 which are supported by two copies and omitted by the third, if the total of 56 is to be made (13 peculiar to Leland and Holinshed, and 9 to Holinshed and Stowe; in no case do Leland and Stowe insert a name not found in Holinshed). To put the matter concisely and pass on from so mathematical a paragraph, the differences between the three copies are plainly shewn by the fact that of the 56 Lancashire and Cheshire names occurring

in them, 14 are found in only one copy, 22 in two copies, and no more than 20 in all three. I have relegated to an appendix lists of names, shewing the details of all these differences.

How then are we to determine what families might have claimed to have had their names inscribed on the original Roll, had it ever existed? If we cannot accept all the 56, may we admit the pretensions of the 20 names common to all the three copies? French antiquaries will not allow even these 20 to pass muster. You may remember that the Norman fleet, whilst waiting for a favourable wind to cross to England, assembled at the mouth of the river Dives and waited there for a month, until at last Duke William was forced to take advantage of a west wind and move his ships to S. Valery. A large and singular church, retaining its massive central arches of Norman work, is the only piece of antiquity which remains in the little town of Dives; and in this church, during the celebration of the eighth centenary of the battle, there was affixed a tablet containing a list of the Conqueror's companions. This catalogue was drawn up by one of the greatest antiquarian authorities in France, M. Delisle, who has been for more than forty years an honorary Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. From the necessity of the case he furnishes no references, but he professes to give no name which is not vouched for by some deed or document of the period. The list contains the names of 454 individuals; in some cases two or three of these belong to one family, so that the families would not be quite so many; but you will, I think, be surprised to learn that out of the large number of families, whose founders we find set down in the Dives Catalogue, only 20 are in any way connected with our two counties, or rather, I ought to say, that I have not succeeded in finding

more than 20 connected with them. It is a striking testimony to the accuracy of the French antiquary that not one of these 20 names is unknown in our copies of the Roll; 8 of them are found in all three copies, 7 more in Leland and Holinshed, 2 in Holinshed and Stowe, 2 in Leland only, 1 in Stowe only; in other words, the Dives Catalogue out of its 20 names has 17 in common with Leland, 13 also in common with Holinshed (though not quite the same as Leland's), 11 in common with Stowe, and none peculiar to itself. [The lists in the Appendix give the names in the case of each of these figures.] We may therefore, I think, conclude that the 20 names which appear in our English copies of the Roll and in the Dives catalogue represent families that may rightly claim to have had a founder present in the Norman host at Senlac; of the 12 names found in all three English copies but not in the Dives catalogue, one does not like to speak with certainty; of the 24 which appear in one or two of the English copies but not in all three, and which have not been allowed a place in the Dives catalogue, we may say, with a certain amount of confidence, that their claim to a place in the Roll is unfounded.

Of the eight names which are common to all our four authorities, and which we may allow ourselves to do a little more than merely mention, the first (alphabetically) is *De-la-Mare.* This family must be carefully distinguished from the Delameres of Mere in Cheshire, who were a cadet branch of the Venables; it took its name from the great fief of La Mare in the commune of Autretot in Normandy, where their castle was built upon piles on the margin of the eponymous lake. Four sons of Norman De-la-Mare apparently came into England, though the Dives Catalogue only admits the presence of two at Senlac. Hugh, the second son, appears in

Domesday as holding eight manors in Cheshire from the Earl his namesake, but his line failed with his grandson, and his estates were inherited by the great palatinate Barons of Mont-alt or Mold, descended from his next brother Ralph, the Earl's seneschal. His descendants ruled their barony with the iron hand that was necessary in the days of border warfare, and in the reign of Edward I, Roger of Mont-alt (who had fought by de Montfort's side in the previous reign) was summoned to Parliament as a Baron; he died childless, but the barony was re-created for his brother Robert, and again became extinct on the latter's death, without issue, in 1329.

The next name is *Despencer*, very famous in English history, but connected only very slightly with our counties. The uprightness and the gallant death of Hugh Despencer, Simon de Montfort's justiciar, are only less well known than the avarice and arrogance of his son and grandson, and the greatness of their fall. The Spencers, who for a time, owned Ashton Hall, in the parish of Lancaster, claimed descent from the justiciar's brother. Edmund Spenser, the poet, belonged to a branch of the family settled in or near Pendle Forest; he speaks of

> "the noble familie,
> "Of which I meanest boast myself to be;"

but most of us would agree with Gibbon's words: "The nobility of the Spencers has been illustrated "and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough, but "I would exhort them to consider the *Faerie Queene* "as the most precious jewel in their coronet." James Spencer, of Newburgh House, in the parish of Ormskirk, when repairing his house in 1719, ornamented the heads of the waterpipes not only with the arms but with the supporters also of the noble family whose name he bore, but no connec-

tion between him and it can be traced. Newburgh House had descended to him from his grandfather, and now belongs to his grandson's great-grandson, but it has passed once through the female line.

The third of the 8 names is *Graye*, which became, for the first time, connected with Lancashire and Cheshire when one of the many branches of the family which bears it inherited the Booth estates and succeeded to the Earldom of Warrington and Barony of Delamere. Graye (to use the present spelling of the village), or Grai (as it is called in the Dives Catalogue), is a little hamlet near Bayeux, numbering now between 400 and 500 inhabitants, and there are still traces of the castle of its ancient lords. Hugh, the son of Turgis, of Graye and of Luc near Caen, had two sons—the elder, Thurstan, remained at Graye, where his descendants are still found in 1499, when the seal of Renaud de Graye is appended to a treaty between the Kings of France and England. Thurstan's younger brother, John, was one of the companions of the Conqueror, and appears in Domesday as holding Rotherfield, in Oxfordshire, under William FitzOsborn: this John is generally called An-ketyl, which is the Norse diminutive for John (pronounced Jan), and is therefore, in spite of its outlandish look and sound, nothing more than the equivalent of our "Johnnie." The most careful research has not made the next generation or two quite clear. John certainly had a son Columban, and it was seemingly he who was the father of the Robert and Roger of the next generation, Robert's elder son, Walter Gray, was Archbishop of York for nearly half of the 13th century; his younger son, another Robert, became the ancestor[1] of the various families bearing the

[1] The descendants of Archbishop Walter's brother bear a lion rampant within a bordure, whilst those of Bishop John's brother assumed the well-known silver and blue bars; the Norman branch bore three bendlets.

name of Gray or Grey, who have won distinction in Northumberland and in Scotland. Roger, Columban's younger son, was the father of John, Bishop of Norwich, whom King John wished to make Archbishop of Canterbury, in which case the Church of England would have found itself under the rule of two cousins, Archbishops Walter and John Gray; the latter, however, as is well known, never actually sat in the throne of Augustine. Bishop John's brother, Henry, heads the long and superb pedigree of the historic house that momentarily dispossessed the Tudors—a house that, after centuries of splendour, in spite of all its multiplicity of branches, is now represented in the male line (as far as I know) by one individual alone, the Earl of Stamford, whose connection with our counties is well known to all who live near Ashton-under-Lyne or Dunham Massey. In the reign of Henry VII there was a Parliament, to which some forty lay lords were summoned; of these no fewer than five were Greys. In the two following reigns few families equalled the Greys in the rapacity with which they seized the lands of the Church; we may not say *post hoc, ergo propter hoc;* but certainly their fall was speedy, and proportionate to the height to which they had climbed.

To write the history of the house of *Montgomery* (the next family with which we have to do), during the latter half of the eleventh century, would be to write a great portion of the history of England and Wales, Normandy and France. There were six members of it, who were hated with an especial hatred by our forefathers, and not undeservedly so, viz., Roger of Montgomery, who had commanded the right wing at Senlac, and who alone, amongst the conquerors of England, has left the name of his Norman hill-fortress to be borne by a county in this island; Mabel Talvas, his wife, the heiress of

a great house pre-eminent amongst all Norman houses in power and in wickedness, more than one member of which, men said, had been strangled by the Fiend himself, their iniquity being too great even for him to bear; and four sons of Roger and Mabel—1. Robert of Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel in England, Count of Ponthieu and Alençon in France, and virtually a sovereign prince in his mother's inheritance, a horrible and merciless tyrant of the worst type, but the most skilful military engineer of his time; 2. Hugh of Shrewsbury, the graphic details of whose death, on the shore of the Menai Straits, form one of the most striking stories of the period; 3. Roger of Poitou, Count of La Marche in right of his wife Almodis; and 4. Arnulf of Pembroke, who aspired to an Irish kingdom. On such a family one would gladly dwell, but we must content ourselves with a few words about the only member of it connected with our counties, Roger of Poitou, lord of the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, and 210 other manors—398 in all. He had fought by his father's side at Senlac, and William had heaped honour and wealth upon him; but in 1077 he turned against the benefactor of his house, and espoused the cause of King William's rebellious son Robert; he was therefore deprived of his English possessions, the revenues of which the Conqueror, with a grim pleasantry characteristic of him, employed in hiring mercenaries to fight against their former owner. Roger was afterwards reinstated in his lordships by William the Red, but he joined his elder brother Robert in the famous war which the latter carried on against Henry I in 1102, the result of it being the final ejection of the house of Montgomery from England. Robert of Belesme, who was still a great prince, though he had lost all his English fiefs, treated his

younger brother with scant generosity, so Roger retired to the county of La Marche, the possession of which was disputed by his wife's cousin, Hugh of Lusignan. Constant hostilities ensued, but Roger (after living for at least 20 years more) passed on his wife's inheritance to his descendants, by whom it was sold, in 1177, to King Henry II.

But if one is regretful at having to pass so rapidly over the great name of Montgomerie, what shall we say at having to dismiss in one paragraph the family of *Nevill*, unrivalled by any of our historic houses in its pride of place—the one family that ever succeeded in overshadowing the Plantagenets themselves? Its present representative, the Marquis of Abergavenny, can trace an unbroken male lineage for some thirty generations; he alone of English peers can boast that his forefathers, in the male line, were independent English princes a thousand years ago, owing allegiance to neither King nor Cæsar—days of independence that might seem to have returned when Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, "kinglier in pride, in "state, in possessions, and in renown, than the "King himself," held in his own power, at one and the same time, both Henry VI and Edward IV. The Richard de Neuville, who appears in the Dives Catalogue, is not, of course, the ancestor of this illustrious house in the male line; his grandson's daughter and heiress married Robert, the son of Maldred Dolfin's-son, and their son Geoffrey took his mother's surname of Nevill, which thus became the family name of the representatives of the old Earls (if not of the still more ancient Kings) of Northumberland; for Dolfin, Maldred's father, was great-grandson of the famous Earl Uhtred, renowned in the history of the second Danish invasion; and Uhtred was seemingly descended, in the direct line, from Eadwulf of Bamborough, the

High Reeve of Bernicia, who apparently belonged to the kingly kin of the Northumbrian Bretwaldas, and who as gallantly defended, against the Danes, his part of the north of England as King Ælfred, his contemporary, did the south. Eadwulf's independence, indeed, left its mark on the map of England, for it led ultimately to the name of Northumberland (which, in its wider sense, his ancestors had ruled) being kept by a small portion of the old Northumbrian kingdom—the present county of Northumberland. The two great branches of the Nevills, the descendants of the first and second marriages of Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland, had their favourite homes in the bishopric of Durham and in the county of York, but some of the less illustrious scions of this, the noblest of English families, have held lands in Lancashire.

It is no small change to turn from historic names like that of Montgomery and Nevill to the comparatively insignificant one of *Pigot*; nevertheless this last, like the others, is found in all our four authorities. Domesday mentions Roger Pigot as holding Broxton in Cheshire, and his line has been carried on uninterruptedly, first in Cheshire and afterwards in Shropshire, till the present time; but I think that the family has never won any higher position than the justiciarship of the county palatine of Chester. Such families, of long descent, yet little known beyond their own immediate neighbourhood have played a very useful part in our country's history in many ways, and their untitled nobility has formed a link between the peerage and commonalty, the lack of which has been greatly felt in many European nations.

The seventh of the eight families is *Vernon*. The place from which this family takes its name is an interesting little town on the Seine—roughly speaking, about half-way between Paris and Rouen,

noted as being the northern limit of the cultivation of the vine. Richard and Walter de Vernon appear in Domesday as holding lands in Cheshire. The latter seemingly left no heirs; the former passed on to his descendants the palatinate barony of Shipbroke. This line became extinct in course of time, without having made a great name for itself, excepting by the long life of one of its members, Sir Ralph Vernon, who certainly survived three generations of his descendants, and cannot have lived for less than 120 years. The cadet branch, which is now represented by Lord Vernon, really passed through the female line in Henry III's reign, though this is a fact ignored by most genealogists. Hawyse Vernon inherited Haddon Hall from her uncle, Sir Richard Vernon (who had received it as part of his first wife's dower), and her husband, Gilbert the Frenchman, took the name of Vernon, and the male line has never again been interrupted. The family at Haddon Hall prospered, and held their heads high amongst the foremost in Derbyshire. Sir Henry Vernon built, in Henry VII's reign, the Haddon Hall that is no doubt familiar to many of us, but it passed away from the Vernons to the Manners only three generations later. A grandson of Sir Henry's acquired Sudbury in Derbyshire by marriage, and became the ancestor of the Lords Vernon, still seated there. In 1826, the connection between the Vernons and Cheshire was renewed, when the wife of the fourth Lord Vernon received the Poynton estate, and other lands in the neighbourhood of Stockport, under the will of her friend, the heiress of the Warrens of Poynton.

And this brings us to the last of the families with which we can deal at any length to-night, for *Warren* is the eighth and last name common to all our authorities. William of Varenne was entrusted

by Duke William, in 1054, with the castle of Mortemer, after his defeat of the French at that place. He lived to acquire an earldom in England (that of Surrey) and to become the husband of the Conqueror's step-daughter, Gundrada, the child of Matilda's former marriage; and he is said to have been mortally wounded by an arrow, in 1088, whilst besieging the rebel Bishop Odo, in Pevensey Castle. The Warrens (as English folk pronounced their Norman name) ranked high amongst historic houses for many generations, but it was only an indirect branch that was connected with Cheshire, for Sir Edward de Warren, who in the middle of the 14th century married the heiress of Poynton, was an illegitimate son of the last Earl Warren: his descendants were well known in East Cheshire, but never did anything that we can find time to record to-night. They are now represented by Lord de Tabley, but their Cheshire estates (as I have said) were devised to the Vernons by Lady Bulkeley, the last of the Warrens.

I have lingered so long over these eight names, found in the Dives Catalogue and in all the three copies of the Roll, that I can only allow myself just to mention the twelve more names which appear at Dives and in one or more of our English authorities, and I must leave not altogether the other families—even those that are given by all our three sixteenth-century lists.

In common with Leland and Holinshed (but not with Stowe) the Dives Catalogue has the names of, 1. Hugh of Avranches, afterwards so well known as Hugh the Wolf, the great Earl of Chester; 2. Henry de Ferrers, the founder of that restless house which for centuries dominated the midlands, and which was engaged in every conspiracy and intrigue from the reign of Stephen to that of

Henry III, lords for awhile of the land between the Ribble and the Mersey; 3. Albert Greslet, lord of Manchester under Roger of Poitou; 4. Ilbert de Laci, lord of Blackburnshire, whose inheritance passed away from his descendants, in 1193, to a family without a drop of Laci blood in its veins, which however took the name of Laci, and rendered it more illustrious than it had ever before been; 5. Raoul of Limesai, the ancestor of the Lindsays, Earls of Crawford, who hold the Bradshaigh estates near Wigan; 6. Gilbert de Venables, from whom sprang the Palatinate Barons of Kinderton, and the knightly house of the Leghs of Lyme with its various branches, for John Venables, about the year 1300, took the surname of his mother Agnes Legh; and 7. Peter of Valoignes, whose descendant Geoffrey was Sheriff of Lancashire in Henry II's reign. One of the co-heirs of this family passed on her father's Christian name of Theobald to the Walters, lords of the hundred of Amounderness, who, when Butlers of the kingdom of Ireland and Earls of Ormond, made the name of Theobald Butler famous in the history of that kingdom.

In common with Holinshed and Stowe (but not with Leland) the Dives Catalogue has only two names with which we are concerned to-night, viz., William the Archer, from whom the Sherburnes of Stonyhurst claimed descent; and Roger Daniell, founder of the old Cheshire family of Danyers or Danvers, rendered illustrious by the Sir Thomas who rescued the Black Prince's standard at Crecy, and whose daughter and heir married the first Peter Legh of Lyme.

Stowe and the Dives Catalogue give us the name of Ivo Taillebois, a great man in Lincolnshire, of whom some say that he became Baron of Lancaster. His family forms a genealogical puzzle; heralds,

on the one hand, try to condense five generations into some eighty years, and, on the other hand, tell us that a widow, 60 years old, made a second marriage, of which a son was born, and eventually took a third husband, "by whom she had a small "family." We may, I think, assume it to be true that the Taillebois were the progenitors of the Lancasters, which surname they assumed when Constables of Lancaster Castle.

You will be glad to hear that only two more names remain for us on the Dives Catalogue—two, which Leland gives and Holinshed and Stowe omit. The former of these is *Mascy*, a name derived from Maci near Avranches. In Domesday, Hamo de Masci held various Cheshire lordships: he became one of the Palatinate Barons, and fixed his home at Dunham Massey. The ramifications of this parent-stock at Dunham may be traced through at least seventeen families, some of which have preserved to the present day an unbroken male lineage.

The last name that we can touch upon is a good specimen of the orthographical puzzles that, from time to time, confront the students of the Roll. Robert of Rhuddlan appears in the Dives Catalogue. You would not, perhaps, at once recognise him or his father under the name Tibol in Leland's list. Tibol is simply a mis-spelling for Tilleul, the name of a village near Rouen. The fortress of Hastings was committed to the charge of Humphrey of Tilleul from the very day on which it began to rise: his son Robert, known afterwards as Robert of Rhuddlan, had been one of the Norman favourites of King Eadward, had received knighthood at his hands, and had held what must have been the sinecure office of armour-bearer to the Confessor. I may perhaps be allowed to dwell for a moment longer on him, for, when the Domes-

day survey was compiled, he was the owner of the parish where I work. He became an able helper to Earl Hugh of Chester, in the latter's perpetual warfare against the Welsh, and he built a castle at Rhuddlan, in the vale of Clwyd, which became famous on account of the great statute published there in 1284, when it was the headquarters of Edward I. From this castle Robert, for fifteen years, carried on incessant hostilities with his Welsh neighbours. In 1088, it was attacked by the Welsh, during Robert's absence; he hurried home, marched beyond Rhuddlan to the smaller fortress of Dwyganwy, between the mouth of the Conway and Llandudno. Here, in an afternoon early in July, he was awakened from a siesta to hear that the Welsh were ravaging the flat country immediately below the fort. Without waiting to collect his men or even to don all his armour, he ran down towards the plunderers, accompanied by only one knight; of course they were surrounded, and Robert, wounded with arrows shot from a safe distance, sank down, commending his soul to God and His Mother. The Welsh rushed on him with one accord, smote off his head, and fixed it as a trophy on the mast of one of their ships; the body was taken up by his friends, and, amidst the bitter grief (we are told)—*cum nimio luctu*—both of Englishmen and Normans, was buried in the minster of S. Werburh at Chester, whence it was afterwards translated to S. Evroul in Normandy, by his brother Arnold, who was a monk of that monastery. His English neighbours were doubtless drawn towards him partly because of his gallant stand against the incursions of the Welsh, and partly because they felt that in him they had one of the few remaining friends of the Confessor left in a place of honour and power. He had no heir, and indeed we do not read that he was ever married.

Such were some of the families sprung from the Norman warriors who fought at Senlac. For myself, I must confess that I had rather be able to trace my lineage to the humblest House-carl, who fought and fell for Harold and for England, than to the proudest of their conquerors.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Duchess of Cleveland's book on the *Roll of Battle Abbey*, without which this paper could not have been written;—to the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th volumes of Freeman's great work on the Norman Conquest, and to his history of William Rufus;—and to various historical, genealogical, and other books, standard works within anybody's reach. I only regret that I have been too busy to find time to consult any books except those in my own library. My thanks are due to Lord Stamford, for information, never before published, about the family of which he is the head.

APPENDIX.

The following lists shew the divergencies between the three copies of the Battle Abbey Roll as regards names connected with Lancashire and Cheshire; (L.—Leland; H.—Holinshed; S.—Stowe;) those names which appear in the Dives Catalogue are in italics.

L., H., S. Audley, Arcy, Blondell, Banastre, Baudewyn, Couderay, *De Spencer*, *De la Mare*, Estrange, Fitzhugh, *Graye*, Herne, Lovel, *Montgomerie*, *Nevill*, Percelay, *Pigot*, Touchet, *Vernon*, *Warren*. 20.

L., H. *Avranches*, Bigot, Baskervyle, Butler, Bracy, *Ferrers*, *Gresli*, Harel, *Laci*, *Limesay*, *Venables*. *Valoignes*, Venour. 13.

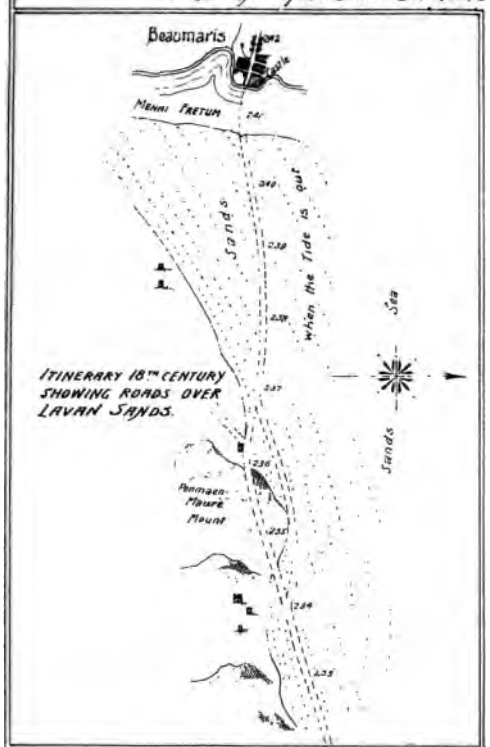
H., S. *Archer*, Bushell, Belvoir, Cholmeley, *Daniell*, De Lee, Gracy, Mainwaring, Norris. 9.

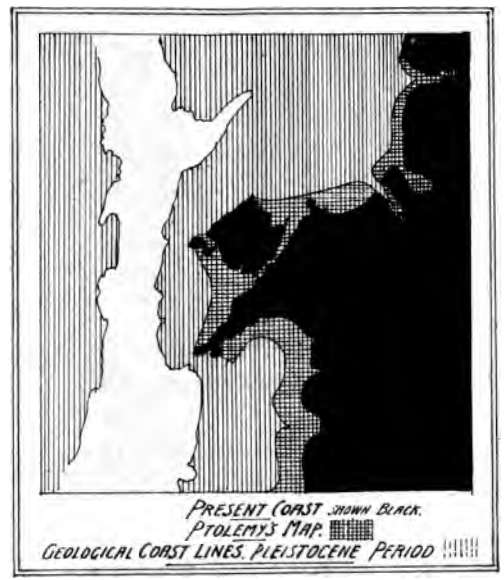
L. Biron, *Massie*, Maunsell, Tibol (*i.e. Rhuddlan*). 4.

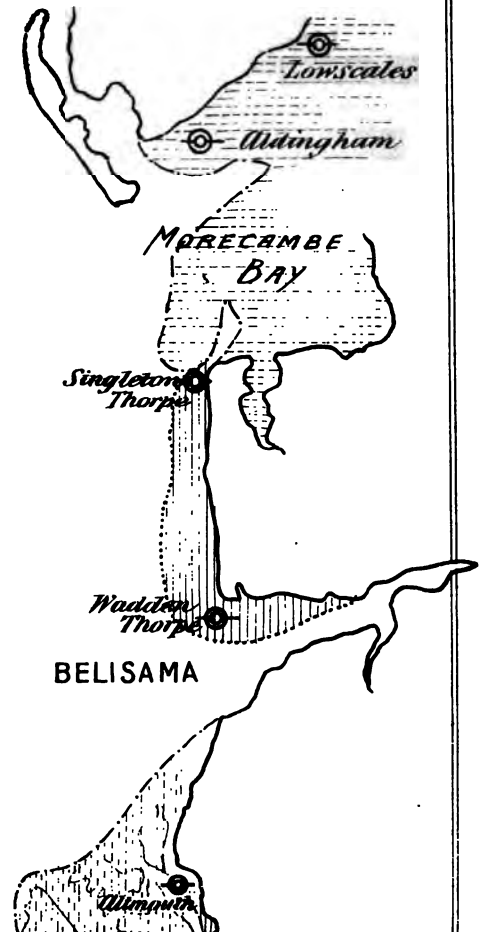
H. Bourchier, Browe, De la Hyde, Gernet, Guisnes, Moine, Tollemache. 7.

S. Mesnil-le-villiers, Pudsey, *Taillebois*. 3.

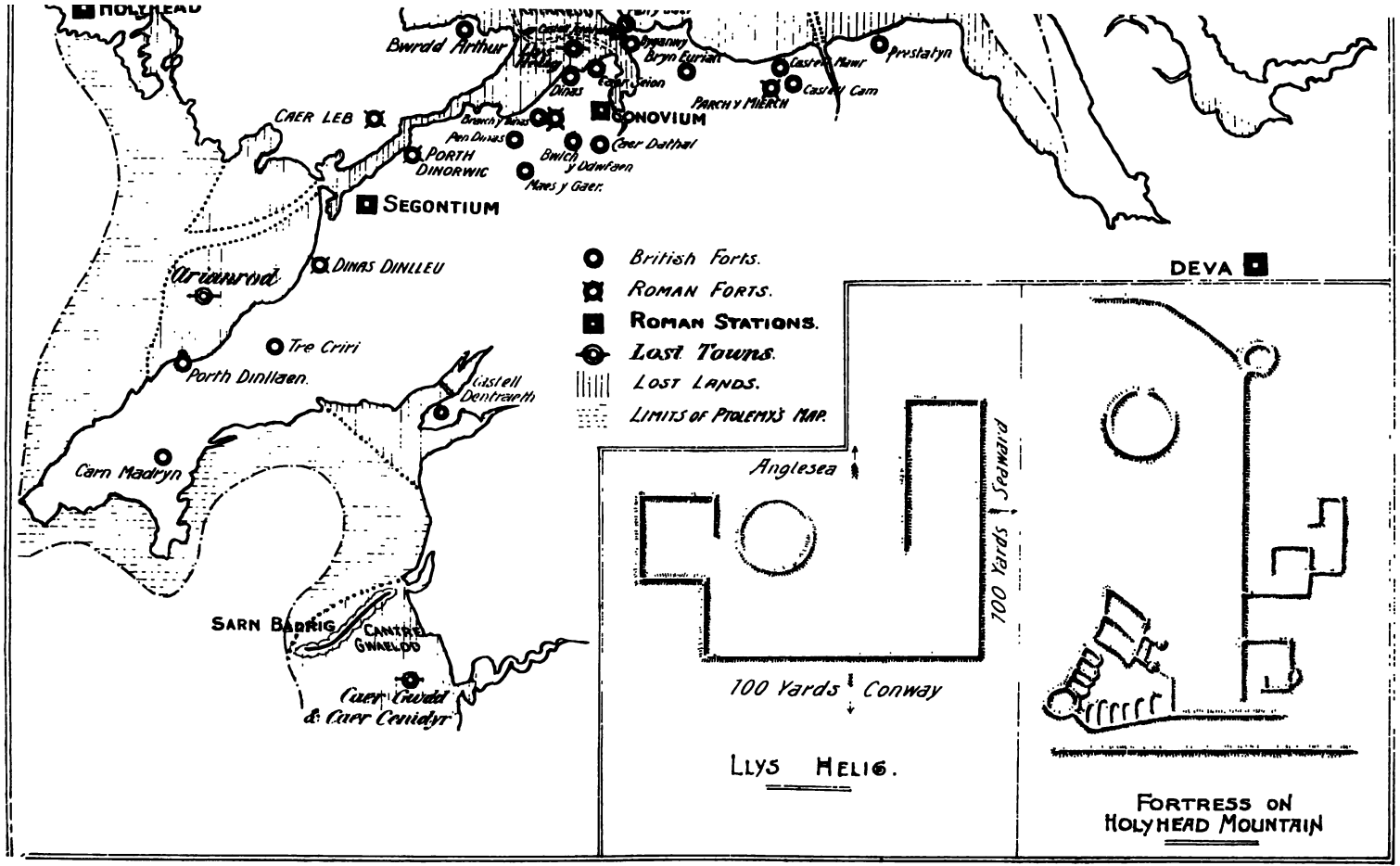
MAP SHOWING PRESENT COAST LINES. LIMITS OF LAND SUBMERGED SINCE 5TH CENTURY, AND LINES OF PTOLEMY'S MAP OF BRITAIN. ALSO ROMAN AND BRITISH COAST DEFENCES AND LOST TOWNS.







TISOBIVS



T. BRAKELL LTD. LITH. LIVERPOOL

TRACES OF SUBMERGED LANDS ON THE COASTS OF LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND NORTH WALES.

By Edward W. Cox.

Read 23rd March, 1893.

GEOLOGY.

IT would be well if this paper could be prefaced by a geological lecture, dealing with the causes of change in the levels of land and the coast-lines of Britain from the latest geological age, when man first appeared on the earth to replenish and subdue it, down to the present time, in order to prove the continuity and vastness of extent to which these forces worked. I can do no more than take them for granted, and refer to them in the briefest possible way, to show that only a small part of the great whole is contained within the limits of comparatively recent history and tradition with which we have to deal.

The easiest way to do this is to put before you Professor Boyd Dawkins' map of the Pleistocene Age, while Britain still formed a part of the Continent, and paleolithic man hunted the bear, the reindeer, and the woolly mammoth, the hyena and similar desirable cattle, among its forests and prairies. I do this, chiefly to disentangle from other

and later evidences those furnished by the great peat beds and forestal remains that form our mosses and moorlands, and which now extend in enormous tracts beneath the sea. These relics are apparently so little affected by decay, that they give rise to the opinion that they show very recent submergences; and they confuse the archæological evidences, which are the only ones, or nearly the only ones, we can depend on to give us approximate or definite dates. By far the larger part of these remains belong to the Pleistocene Age, when some huge catastrophe swept away, by flood or ice, those great forests, and buried them in lagoons and swamps and mosses. At some yet unmeasured intervals of time, subsidences to the total depth of 600 feet separated these islands from the mainland, and submerged the wide tract shown on the map. But this, probably, did not take place all at once. Other depressions, doubtless, still further reduced the land areas. The smaller map will show the shape of our coasts while the depression was 250 feet less deep than at present, and the Irish Channel only twenty miles wide. The later series of sinkings, within historic times, are possibly shown in Ptolemy's map of Britain by a line of darker shading; and the present lines of coast are shown black.

We are not, then, to take these submerged forests as evidences of date. There may be, and probably are, some that belong to the historical era, but, so far as I know, they cannot be distinguished from the pleistocene peats. If it be doubted whether such terrestrial movements still continue, I think it may be shown conclusively that they do. I will presently cite instances, very shortly indeed, and without dwelling on any details, leaving them for after-examination; our task being to deal only with our own local cases.

It will facilitate the examination of these if we consider at this point the four kinds of forces that influence the depression of terrestrial levels in such measure as to cause submergence. This is necessary, because we shall meet with the varying results in the lost lands, and it will enable us to recognise their action as we reach their details, without needless repetition.

First, we have those vast cosmic movements arising from deeply seated, internal action, which have raised or depressed whole continents and mountain ranges, extending over enormous reaches of time. These are in some cases gradual. Sir Charles Lyell speaks of one formation, 4200 feet in thickness, gradually deposited in shallow waters, which had slowly subsided during the whole period of its deposition. Other action has been violent and sudden. To such deep-seated action the changes during the age of pleistocene man seem to belong, when, extending over very wide areas, some violent cataclysm, involving great climatic changes, broke the continuity between the early and later Stone Ages.

The next cause is denudation by rivers and weather, which are continually wearing down the higher lands and scooping out valleys. This comes so little into our review, that we need only say of it that it is destructive of all subjected to its action.

The third is local subsidence, not connected with the major action of internal forces, but due to such causes as the removal of loose substrata by water, the release of impounded waters from porous beds, such as peat and sand, the escape of soluble strata, such as salt, or the sliding of looser strata over impervious and slippery clays. These may be either gradual or sudden. Of the latter, the Sandgate subsidence serves as an admirable

illustration—a practical geological lesson that its inhabitants will not soon forget.

The fourth is erosion by the sea, or waters fretting away the less-resisting earths and rocks.

Now, there are two entirely differing results arising from submersion: those caused by the sinking of the surface, and those by the forces of denudation and erosion; both of which come directly within the scope of this paper.

The condition of the relics of the lost lands is good evidence of the forces to which they yielded. So soon as the solid surface of the ground is below the level of water, almost all action upon it ceases. It is true that loose and soluble alluvium and unfixed sands may be affected to a small extent by strong currents; but the deeper the water, the more perfect the rest of the subjacent surface. Consequently, any features existing on land suddenly submerged remain comparatively unchanged even by decay. On the contrary, denudation and erosion by seas or waters are utterly destructive. The unquiet waves of the sea-margin, that constantly mine and batter, like engines of war, the bastions of the land, are the forces which the strongest masonry cannot for many centuries resist; while the depths lie at rest. Thus in our lost lands there remain distinguishable, ruins of buildings, and causeways, and roads. Traditions speak of sudden floods and submergences here; these relics tell the same tale. In the case of the Meols shore there is a further complication of similar causes, due to fresh water inundations; where sea erosion is now obliterating what the earlier causes preserved by submersion.

I will only instance, without comment, a very few examples of changes of level and submersion in historical times. The Temple of Serapis, in the

Bay of Baiœ, sunk slowly in the sea to about one-third the height of its columns. These were bored by marine insects before the temple again gradually rose to nearly its old level, at the end of the last century. There were on the south coast of Crete, certain Greek naval ports, which were recently sought for in vain by an archæologist, who eventually found the foundations of some of them twenty feet above the sea. On the north side of the island, some ruined cities, formerly high above the water, are now partly submerged. St. Michael's Mount, in Normandy, stood, A.D. 709, in the forest of Scissy, nine miles from the sea. It is now an island; and in 1822 the ancient causeway leading to the gate was exposed, at a depth of ten feet below the level of the present sands. The Channel Islands are described by Cæsar and Tacitus and Diodorus Siculus as promontories, and Jersey was accessible over the sands well within the Christian era. In the Middle Ages the Island of Echerau, now an uninhabitable rock, was peopled, and contained a monastery, where service was daily held. St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, is not spoken of as an island in Domesday Book, but it is said to contain twelve times as much land as it now does. Its British name means "the hoar rock in the wood."

If we require modern examples of subsidence, we have that of the Zuyder Zee, in Holland. The Runn of Cutch, a flat land once cultivated, subsided in a few hours in 1819, and 2000 square miles of land became an arm of the sea. The terrible inundations in China during the past year or two are probably due to the same cause. Mr. Albert Bickman, in the *American Journal of Science*, July, 1868, says that near Foochow and the mouth of the River Min an area of land in China had been slowly subsiding.

TRADITION.

We now turn from generalities to the subject of this paper; and, first, as to history. It may be said that between the somewhat mythical bardic literature of the fifth and sixth centuries and the records of the fourteenth century nothing that can be called unmixed and definite history connected with these coasts exists, and this record relates to land lost to the See of St. Asaph. Of tradition, however, we have abundance, both strong, consistent and definite. It is true that certain MSS. are referred to, relating to the lost lands; but they only purport to record the traditions; therefore all they do is to prove that such traditions originated in remote times, chiefly the fifth and sixth centuries, also that they have come down to us with scarcely any alteration, and in their original form. They are accompanied in many cases with definite and picturesque incident, and with traits of personal character, and with historical names and events that are most striking; and they agree with the incidental references found in the bardic and other literature of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. I first heard of these traditions about 1853, from the Rev. Griffith Edwards—a good antiquary and no mean poet—who had collected these and many others from the peasantry. In his poem of *Cantre Gwaelod* he introduced the incidents I speak of, and I closely questioned him whether these were poetic additions of his own. He assured me that he had adhered strictly to all the incidents of the legends. This I afterwards found to be quite true; some of the local peasantry to whom I have spoken had the legends more perfectly than others, but enough could be gathered to find that all were in agreement.

It is much the fashion to discredit tradition. I think this is unwise. I have myself done so, and

yet have seen tradition remarkably confirmed; notably when in Ireland, in 1845. A tumulus near Mallow—which, to my disgust, the people persisted in assuring me was a fairy moat—proved on examination, years afterwards, to contain remains of that small race which modern research identifies with the traditions of the fairies. Tradition crystalises, as it were, among the unlearned, who have no reason for changing it, however grotesque the form in which it comes; and I am not sure whether such tradition is not far more trustworthy than partisan history. Such traditions of the lost lands as have come down to the present day are strong, explicit, widely current, and consistent in their details throughout the Principality. One small farmer, residing at Penrhyn, not only gave me particulars of these, but, as we walked together towards Llandudno, he pointed out the limits of the former land, the course of the lost river Ell, and the city of Helig. He stated that the land reached beyond the Great Ormes Head to past Priestholm; and on my objecting to that being possible, as deep water existed beyond Great Ormes Head, he said: "You may know better "than I, but I was told it as a boy, and all the "people hereabouts believe it." The character of this tradition comes very close to history, whilst it is found to be in agreement with the few written records that exist, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries.

MAPS.

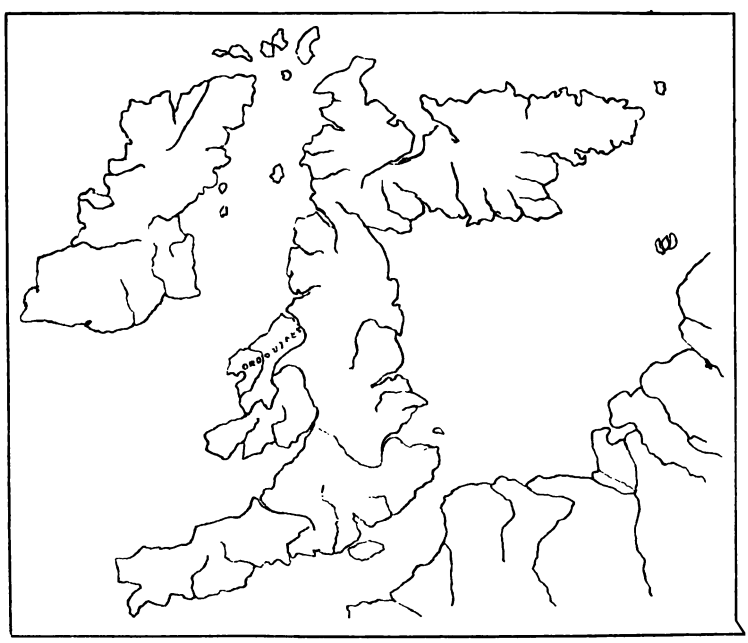
There is scarcely any ancient document so untrustworthy as a mediæval map. They are, as a rule, either unintelligent and debased copies of Roman or Greek maps, or mere conventional itineraries, with no pretension to accuracy. It is different with the maps of Roman geographers,

which were carefully measured; and, though containing in many cases palpable errors, they are laid down with points of latitude and longitude, and have some measure of correctness in outline and detail. I give a tracing of Ptolemy's map of the British Isles, from Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans*. It is plainly from Mercator's copy.

Mr. T. G. Rylands,[1] who gives a portion of the same map from the copy of 1480, identical in outline, has published some most able pamphlets on it, dealing with the distortion of the map of Scotland, and with the deviation from the present lines of coast in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Wales. The Mersey is apparently lost, by an error of half a degree in placing its bearings. A glance at the Roman map will show other strange deviations, notably in Cornwall. There is apparently no Island of Anglesea, and very little indication of Morecambe Bay. Now, if the coast-lines were the same as at present, there would be this error of about half a degree in the point for the Mersey; but I do not entirely agree with Mr. Rylands that they were necessarily the same, although he proves several errors in the latitude and longitude. I have drawn the present coast-lines, and on the same map have placed the outline of Ptolemy's map for this part of the coast. The spaces he shows as land and estuaries and inlets, which vary from our maps, will give as nearly as possible the very areas of the lost lands of tradition; not only so in our district, but also the lost tract of Lyonesse, on the north coast of Cornwall, is exactly in the place suggested in Mr. Peacock's very able essay on the general question of subsidences, and by Professor Rhys' location of it in his lectures on the mythology of the Arthurian legend. Moreover, the outlets of the

[1] *Transactions*, vol. xxxi, p. 96.

Pre-Glacial Britain.



Ptolemy's Map of Britain.

Mersey and Ribble become one estuary, and the geographical point is moved nearly a third of a degree north of the present mouth. With the addition of this land the Mersey would answer to its name Belissama, for it would traverse a wide tract of marsh to reach the sea, which in its present course it certainly does not.

LOST LANDS IN WALES.—MERIONETHSHIRE.

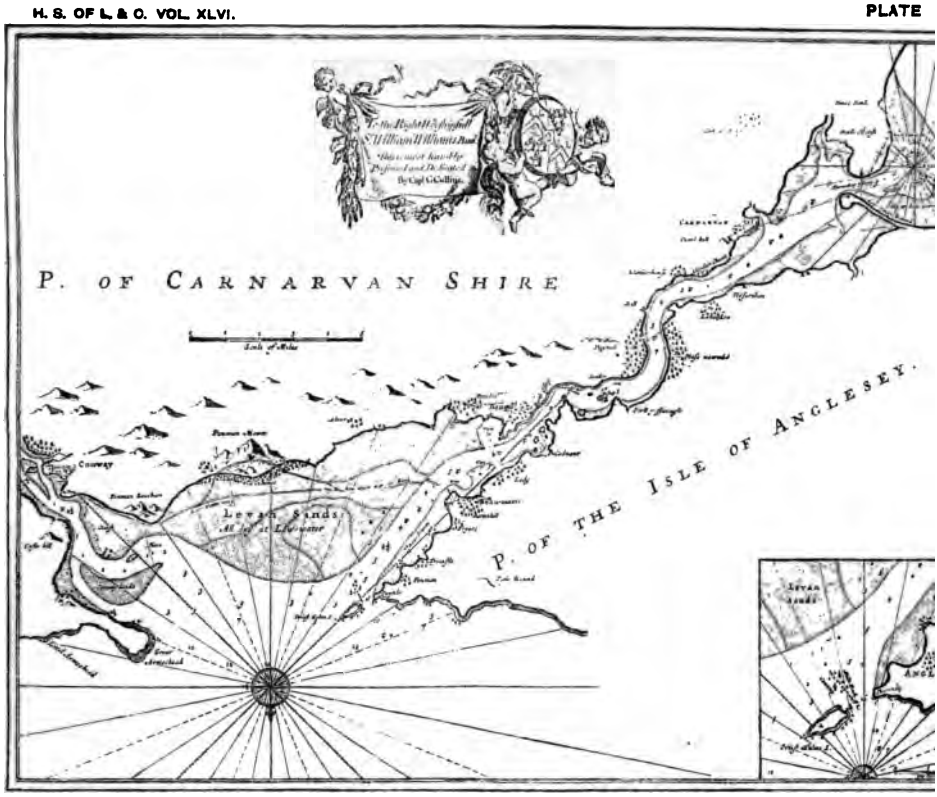
However interesting it might be to deal with the whole of the submerged lands on the British coasts that reach into history, the subject is far too wide for this paper. The most distant of the lost lands that I propose to treat of, among the many of which tradition and archæology tell us, is the Cantre Gwaelod, the lowland Hundred which lies on the Merionethshire coast, from Mochras Point, a little south of Harlech, and stretches twenty-two miles along the coast to the west of that place. The name of this tract itself carries evidence that it was regarded as land. The Cantref, or Hundred, is an early territorial division that dates from early British times. Immemorial tradition, both oral and contained in various MSS.—one of which MSS. is called the Black Book of Carmarthen—attribute the possession of this district to Gwydno, who held it from A.D. 460 to 520. He was surnamed the *Garon hir*, or son of the long-shanked. His city was called *Caer Gwydd* (Gwydd's City).[2] I have been told that traces of the city can still be discerned, but at the time I was there the tide did not admit of their being seen. On the seaward side of this submerged tract—which is to some extent composed of peat, similar to the beds

[2] Mr. Williams and Mr. Hicklin communicated particulars of the ruins of houses seen at low water on Barmouth Sands to the Rev. Charles Massey, of Chester, about 1850. See *Transactions of the Chester Archæological Society*, vol. i.

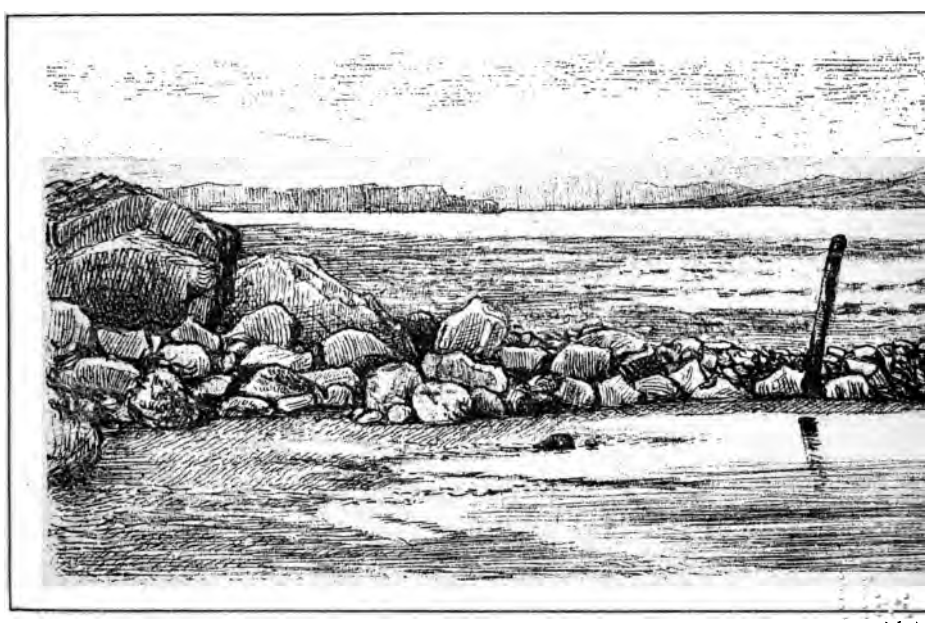
on the Meols shore—a long causeway of stone stretches in a south-westerly direction, called Sarn Badrig, or the causeway of St. Patrick. Tradition says this was miraculously constructed to help the saint to visit Ireland. Another causeway, called Sarn y Bwch, runs out from north-west of Harlech to meet this, and formerly enclosed the Cantre as by an embankment. Some have thought this a natural ridge of stones caused by the tides; it is not a beach, however, but a regular embankment of fair-sized stones, and these lie flat on the ground, and have a uniform width of 24 feet. At the end of the causeway are sixteen large stones, one of which is sixteen feet in diameter. The local legend, as well as the *Mabinogion*—a work of the sixth century (see Lady C. Guest's translation)—attributes the loss of this land to the carelessness of one Seithenyn, called a king, who was "of feeble wit," and neglected to close the sluices; also that Gwydno was the father of Elphin, patron of the bard Taliesin. The Rev. F. Parry says this is recorded in the Tulo MS., p. 439, and that the date there given is 339, possibly an error for A.D. 539.[3]

This causeway or embankment is now seen only at low tide, and there is no escaping the conviction —if this be an artificial structure, which, from the small portion I have been able to see, I think it is—that the legend is true. No one would build such a causeway fifteen feet below high water-mark,

3 Of the Cantre Gwaelod plain to the south of the Dovey, a large flat tract still remains. It is marsh to a large extent, swampy and useless, and very little above high water-mark. Ancient MSS. and verses of Taliesin describe the tract as the richest in Wales. On its shore, facing the open sea, the little watering-place of Borth represents Porth Gwydno (Gwydno's Port). It is now an exposed and open roadstead, but before the loss of its outlying land it may have been a sheltered port in the estuary of the Dovey; it was counted as one of the three principal ports of North Wales. I have seen high tides flood the adjacent lands widely and drive the cattle to the small elevated spots, a few feet only above water, that for the time formed islands of refuge.



Collins' Hydrographic Chart.



Causeway on Lavan Sands.

and the land must have subsided to bring it into its present condition. The fact that it retains its form, and has not been ruined and broken up, and removed piecemeal, also strongly tends to prove that subsidence and not erosion placed it beneath the sea.[4]

CARNARVONSHIRE.

The next places in order are the less-known lost lands on the north-west of Carnarvon, where the peninsula of Lleyn stretches into the sea. Here also tradition points out the site of a city, of the name of Caer Arianrhod. It lies between the point of Llandwyn and Clynnog Vawr. This is the more wonderful, because there is upon these coasts much deep water. Very strong tidal currents, caused by the Menai Straits, prevail on this coast, which may well account for the removal of traces of land, whereas the Cantre Gwaelod is protected from them by the peninsula of Arfon and the southern headlands of the bay. In the mediæval fairy tale called *Mabinogion Gacilent*,[5] this fortress was said to be on land now covered by the sea. The Rev. Elias Owen gives most valuable information of the existence of this tradition in the neighbourhood; and Mr. Crofton Croker, in *Fairy*

4 The inundation of Cantre Gwaelod comes indirectly into history. St. Tudno, who founded the Church of Llandudno on Ormeshead, and his four brothers, entered into the religious life at the British College of Bangor Iscoed. They were sons of Seithenyn, whose possessions were lost by that calamity; and when they are spoken of, the words are nearly always added: "Whose lands were lost in the sea."

5 The careful and exact manner in which the topography of the ancient Mabinogi of "Math the son of Mathonwy," recorded in *The Red Book of Hergerst*, is dealt with, enables us to identify and partly to date the existence, and ascertain the site and occupation of the lost stronghold of Arianrhod, as well as to learn something of its characteristics. In this Mabinogi it is always spoken of as an existing caer, never as a lost or submerged one, as are those of Caer Gwydno, Llys Helig, and Caer Cenedyr. It may be taken for granted either that this legend was written prior to the overwhelming of the Cantre Gwaelod and Morfa Rhyanedd, or that the destruction of this settlement occurred at a later period. The former conjecture is the more probable, for this legend introduces no later characters into its pages.

Tales of Ireland, vol. ii, page 175, says that Dr. Pughe, discovered its site. His words are:—
"Being in conversation respecting the names of
"places in Anglesea with a late friend of mine
"from that country, he said that there was a
"remarkable ruin in the sea nearly midway between
"Llandwyn Point and Clynnog Church in Carnar-
"vonshire, which the sailors in passing over see in
"the water, and which is dangerous to vessels,
"and called by them Caer Arianrhod."

Between Clynnog and the extreme point of Carnarvonshire an ancient road, coming over the Yr Eifl Mountains, ends in the sea opposite Bardsey Island. This might have been a pilgrims' road to the hermitage on the island, but it is more likely to have led to the submerged low lands. Bardsey was an island at an early date. From Clynnog to the southern end of the Menai Straits a small strip or remnant of the low land remains, running to Nant y Belan fort. Near this is a strong Roman circular earthwork, Dinas Dinlle, but it is not a port, and no trace of a road here crosses the straits. Two other great forts of British origin are found on the Eifel Mountains and on Porth Dinllaen, commanding this last tract, whose significance I will refer to further on. The flat land near Nant y Belan was, a few years ago, in danger of loss in the sea by the erosion of the sand banks.

On the southern boundary of Carnarvon is Traeth Mawr, at Port Madoc, which was, early in this century, rapidly disappearing, and was saved only by a large and costly embankment. It adjoined the north end of Cantre Gwaelod. The land side of this embankment is now below the level of high tides, and is imperfectly drained by sluices; yet it is in a well-sheltered inlet.

ANGLESEA.

To the north-west lie the low lands of the Anglesea coast. Here were two parishes; Newborough, which still retains its church, has scarcely any parish, that having gradually disappeared in the sea; and of the neighbouring parish all but a small remnant has been swallowed up.

Near Aberffraw, the Rev. W. Buckley, who travelled in Wales in 1798 to 1801, says he was prevented from reaching Holyhead by the bursting of a bank, which caused several hundred acres to be overflowed at high water.

Aberffraw was once the chief Royal town of Anglesea, north-west of which are the Maldraeth Sands, which tradition says were overrun by the ocean. Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua*, published in 1723, says he has seen there the walls of houses and the enclosure walls of fields. In *Archæologia Cambriensis*, vol. ii, 1855, these remains are included in a list of the then-existing British antiquities. When I passed the sands, about thirty years ago, traces, I thought, could be seen of lines and piles of stones. Beyond are the sands and shallows between the land and Holyhead Island, and upon both these sands are ancient burial cairns, piles of stones that must have been erected when these sands were dry land. Many of these are marked on the ordnance maps. The original road to the Island of Holyhead was always a raised causeway, and was considered to be of Roman origin, leading to the fort at Holyhead.

From Holyhead Harbour and on the coast have been dredged up bones of the mammoth, proving that the same formation prevailed there; but, so far as I know, there is no local tradition of loss. Near Holyhead an ancient burying-place, without any trace of a church, is partly cut away by the sea.

EVIDENCE FROM THE ROMAN INVASION.

Before speaking of the next great area of submersion, let us turn to the account of the invasion of Angleséa by the Romans, from which we may gather some information as to its then existing condition. At that period, Suetonius Paulinus, according to Tacitus, swam his cavalry across the Menai, while his infantry crossed in boats, the passage being made, it is supposed, near Llanidan, where Rowlands, in 1723, says the mound remained in his day, full of ashes and bones, marking the site of the battle or massacre, and the great fires kindled by the Druids, into which the Romans cast the bodies of the slain. At the second invasion of Anglesea, by Julius Agricola, the general had no boats, and he determined to cross by fording the straits. Both the cavalry and infantry passed without boats, by fording and swimming. Rowlands carefully sought for indications of shallow water that could admit of this, and located the crossing at a place called Crig, near Llanidan, but he frankly admits that even at low tides the depth is from one to two fathoms—far too deep for a heavily armed host to cross. Certainly the feat could not be performed now, yet we have in the place-names on the Carnarvon shore, opposite Llanidan, the evidence of this operation—*Rhyd Equestre* and *Rhyd Pedestre* "Ford of the Cavalry," "Ford of the Infantry." The strait, therefore, at this point, could not have been of its present width and depth; and we have seen, in the traditions of Arianrhod, that the low lands of Carnarvonshire stretched across its western entrance, from Clynnog to Llanddwyn Point, in Anglesea. The strait, moreover, is constantly spoken of as the River Menai, not the straits; and was probably really the shallow tidal estuary of the adjacent rivers. This will appear more clearly in treating of the following section.

THE LAVAN SANDS.

This great tract of lowlands formerly formed a coast district of Flintshire and Denbighshire. It originally stretched across the bay of Abergele from Prestatyn, and ran out seaward beyond the Ormes Head, past what is now Puffin Island, Ynys Seiriol, known in the fifth century as Ynys Glannog or Glannog's Isle, and joined the levels now forming Redwharf Bay. The boundary between the counties was the River Ell, still spoken of in local tradition and in the Arthurian legends of the sixth century, whose course is now wholly below the sea. Through the flat lands, the Conway, whose course now ends at Deganwy, flowed through an ancient bed, now dry, by the village of Mochdre, of tithe-resisting notoriety, the name of which signifies a running, or a flowing, though it is now a dry valley, the gravelly bed of the ancient river. Possibly this was part of a delta with two outlets. Thence the river passed between Anglesea and Puffin Island, receiving on its course the waters of the Ell. All this is quite clearly described by local tradition. I have stood with a peasant farmer of Penrhyn while he pointed out the ancient limits of the land and the course of the river, and told me the tradition of its loss. Long before visitors came to Llandudno, Mr. Elias Owen says, this tradition was quite confidently told. I have found it still strongly surviving, both in that vicinity and near Colwyn Bay, and it is in exact agreement in every way with that given by Mr. C. R. Hall in his pamphlet, read some years ago, before the Liverpool Geological Society, and told to me by others. Mr. C. Potter had the same tale repeated to him as Mr. Hall received, but like myself when I first heard it, he treated it with incredulity. Geological evidences do not disprove but rather confirm it, and my own more recent and

other archæological researches do so still more strongly.

The lord of these lands, says the tradition, was Helig ap Glannog, and the land was called Morfa Rhyanedd, between Great Ormes Head and Priestholme, and the account of the land and its inundation is preserved in an ancient MS., which gives the following genealogy:—

"Einon ab Cynedda Wledig (or the popular) had issue Llyr Merini, who had issue Caradoc, surnamed Vreichoras (the strong arm, or the valiant), who in right of his wife Guinian was afterwards king of North Wales, who had many and great conflicts with the Romans. Caradoc had issue Grogan Gleddyvadd, or Grogan with the bloody sword, who had issue Glannog, who was father to Helig ap Glannog. This Helig was lord of Abergele, Rhos, Arlechwydd, Lleyn, and Cantre Gwaelod, and was also Earl of Hereford. In his time happened the great nundation which surrounded Morfa Rhyannyd, the most fruitful and pleasant vale lying from Bangor vawr yn, Ngwynidd, to Gogarth, and so to Dyganwy or Gannoc Castle in length, and in breadth from Dwygyfilchi to the point of Flintshire which comes up from Rhuddlan to Priestholme;[6] and in the upper end thereof did extend from Alun and Llanvair to the river Ell; which did divide Carnarvon from Mon, and did likewise divide Mon from Flintshire,[7] and did surround many other rich bottoms and vales within the counties of Carnarvon and Flintshire and Merioneth, most of them being the land of Helig ap Glannog, whose chiefest palace stood in this vale, much about the middle way between Penmaen Mawr and Gogarth. The ruins are now to be seen on a ground ebb some two miles within the sea, directly against Trwyn y Wylfa, or the Point of Wailing,[8] which is a hill lying in the midst of the parish Dwygyfylchi, within the land of Sir John Bodrel, Knight;[9] unto which hill Helig ap Glannog

6 Here notice that Priestholme, though close to Anglesea and now opposite Denbighshire, and separated by a wide sea from Flintshire, is still a part of that county; thus confirming its traditional boundaries.

7 Here we have evidence that the Menai in Roman times consisted of the estuaries of small rivers running between Priestholme and Penmaen, and discharging itself into the sea a great way beyond Priestholme.

8 This point, though now written Trwyn y Wylfa, which means the Point of Watching, is recognised by the country people as the Point of Wailing, or lamentation, and may originaliy have been Trwyn y Wylo, which has this signification. The Lavan Sands themselves are called Traeth Wylovan, the Inlet of Lamentation.

9 Here we obtain a clue to the date of this manuscript, which plainly was written during the life of Sir John Bodrell.

and his people did run to save themselves being endangered by the sudden breaking in of the sea, and there saved their lives. And being come up to the point of the hill, and looking back, beholding that dreadful spectacle which they had so survived and looked upon, instead of their incomparable vale, which did abound in fruitfulness, and excelling all other vales in this part of England in all fertility and pleasantness, Helig ap Glannog and all his people wringing their hands together made a great outcry, bewailing their misfortune and calling upon God for mercy. The point of which is called to this day Trwyn y Wylfa—the point of the Doleful Hill."

So far this MS.[10]

Now it is well to notice some of the inconsistencies of this narrative. If Helig be the third generation from Caradoc, the land can hardly have been lost later than the second century. Indeed, there is some reason to think a later date is more correct. St. Cybi and St. Seiriol were living in the year 328; they are said to have met on this land, and there is a tradition that St. Seiriol assisted the people to make a new road round Penmaenmawr, to replace one lost through inundations. Again, the lost River Ell could not have extended to the boundaries of Merionethshire; but this may refer to the Clwyd, the whole of which was called the Elwy before the Strathclyde Britons named it the Clwyd, when, in the ninth century, they reoccupied the Vale of Clwyd. An approximate date is obtained from the fact that Helig had twelve sons, who, like the sons of Saithenyn, became monks of Bangor Iscoed. One of them, Rwchwyn, founded a church near Llanwrst, called after him; Celynin the church of Llangelynin; and Brothen built the church of Aber.

[10] The account given of the MS. by Mr. C. R. Hall is, that it was drawn up by a Welsh clergyman, in order to keep the oral tradition on record; and that an aged lady, a descendant of the clergyman, who at the age of eighty was in possession of the document, had it printed in 1850 in a magazine, a copy of which the Rev. C. Parry lent to Mr. Hall, who copied it as above. The names of the clergyman and the lady have not been given. It is most common in Wales for possessors of documents to be very reticent about them.

There is one point worth investigation, were it possible, that might attach this land to the former over-lordship of Caradoc, and that is, its name. *Morfa Rhyanedd* means "the Marsh of the Maiden," or the feminine land; and *Rhianni* means "a provision made for a queen." Tradition says that Caradoc, in right of his wife Guinian, was king of North Wales. It is possible that this land, which eventually came down to Helig, was originally the land for the provision of the queen, and that several intermediate names have fallen out of the genealogy.

It is most likely that this district of Morfa Rhyanedd was not all submerged at the same period, nor did it sink at once to its present level.[11] It is quite probable that the subsidences were partial, and extended over a period between the fourth and the sixth centuries, the greatest catastrophies, those of the Cantre Gwaelod and Llys Helig, being among the later incidents; and that Arianrhod was submerged during the first half of the sixth century. There appears to have been some depression in the bed of the sea at a comparatively recent period. Below the present sands almost the whole consists of a turbary, with a slight covering of sand. This will be apparent by the description of the archæological indications, to which we now turn.

About 25 years ago I went to Dwygyfylchi at the date of the lowest tide of the year, and with a good telescope I could see the long lines of walls and buildings, covered with black seaweed. They were visible for about half-an-hour; but from the land it was not possible to measure or plan them. Mr. C. R. Hall and the Rev. F. Parry, however, had in 1865 visited the locality in a boat, and they then

[11] Hence the varying dates given. The bard Taliesin, who lived at the end of the fifth and early in the sixth century, refers to the event as occurring during the life of his own contemporaries.

obtained approximate measurements. The boatman who accompanied them had been there twenty years before with the Rev. J. F. Fergie, of Ince, Wigan. Mr. Hall reached down to the long lines of weed, and, as far as could be judged by feeling with the oar, they seemed to be growing on the top of a wall, the stones of which appeared to lie just as they would be if thrown down by the action of the sea. They pulled the boat along the lines of wall, which they measured approximately. The boat just floated over the top of the wall; but on each side of it the depth of water was from five to six feet. The plan is given in Mr. Hall's pamphlet. He does not appear to identify the buildings with any British remains known to him; his plan, therefore, seems the more authentic, inasmuch as it defines with great accuracy buildings very like in structure and plan those which still exist on the mainland and which are undoubtedly British work. Two or three years ago a young artist visited these remains and found them left visible by the tide. He made a drawing of part of them, and alleged that he found on some of the stones incised six-armed crosses.

I think it is worth while here to refer to an incident in the Saxon invasion, which seems to me explicable in no other way than by accepting the tradition as true. A fragment of the defeated army of Brocmail, driven from the neighbourhood of Chester in 606 or 613, by Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, retreated to the south-west along the line of the Roman roads leading towards Anglesea, and it is recorded that it was followed as far as Ynys Seiriol, Puffin Island. In the same spot, in A.D. 629, Cadwallon was blockaded by King Edwin of Northumbria. How they could thus retreat, and could be followed, except by means of the Roman roads across the sands, would appear incredible; nor could they find accommodation on

Puffin Island for a large army, unless it were still partly surrounded by some level land. The choice of such a retreat also, in which an army would speedily be starved to death, is one that no sane general would make. But within a few miles of Puffin Island, on the Llwydiart mountains, is the great British camp of Bwrd Arthur, which must have been the point of retreat; and if some of the levels there existed as land, it was a defensible military position.

THE ORMES HEADS.

Between Great Ormes Head and Conway Bay a strip of the ancient low land, still called Morfa Rhyanedd, survives, protected partially by the outlying rocks of the head and by the rocky substrata from submersion. The head has its strong British entrenched camp or village on the precipitous rock at the south-east; and to the east of the Little Ormes Head another small and narrow strip of low land has as its protection the fortified British city of Bryn Eurian, or the Golden Hill. On the Conway side of Llandudno Marsh stood the Roman post of Castell Tremlydd and the British city of Dyganwy, which guarded the road to the copper mines, and, possibly, also a road to the Morfa Rhyanedd.

The mines in the head were worked for copper by the Romans. Their fort is now in the sea, and having been destroyed by erosion of the clay banks, it is utterly ruined, and its site is only marked by a bank of loose stones and large boulders, among which are found Roman coins and fragments of tile. Fuller details of the traces of occupation must be left for another opportunity, as well as those of Bryn Eurian and of the Vale of Clwyd, which present the features of defending passes and heights, in their proper relation to the still existing vales and plains.

Near St. Tudno's Church, to the south, a double line of upright stones—plainly an ancient British road, marked by a double range of upright stones—leads northward from a British stone enclosure, called Lletty Fadog (the Farm of Madoc), to the edge of the cliff, and thence down a steep way to the sea. It is called *Hwylfa Ceirw*, the Roadway of the Deer. Tradition which I have heard, and which Buckley says was current in 1799, says it was the path by which the deer used to descend to the meadows below the head. This would make the head to have been wholly separated from the sea by meadow land. The point in the head to which this road now leads is a precipitous rock, with a narrow strip of beach covered with large boulders. It is unfit for a marine landing-place, and leads to no trackway along the shore.

There is another tradition, also mentioned by Buckley, that St. Tudno and St. Cybi were friends, and met every week near Priestholm. Tudno was called the White Tudno, because he went from his church westward; Cybi was called the Tawny, because he travelled with the sun in his face. This tradition does not agree with others as to date, as Cybi lived in the fourth, and Tudno in the sixth century. Another tradition makes Cybi meet Seiriol, who was really his contemporary. Possibly the tradition means no more than that both men traversed land which is now sea.

ABERGELE BAY AND COLWYN BAY.

On these shores we have continuous records of loss of land up to quite recent times and within living memory. A good deal of this loss has been caused by erosion of the sea, and the only ancient traditions, beyond those already quoted, speak of the former ownership in mediæval times and the extent of the ancient coast lines. The Constable

Bank, according to these traditions, was at one time land. Mr. H. Caraher states that people now living can remember houses standing in the low ground half-a-mile seaward of the present shore; and beyond Llandrillo, some distance to seaward, stood the monastery and parish church of St. Teilio, no longer existing. Capel Trillo, by the fish weir, lately destroyed by mischievous excursionists, is said to be the only relic of this district. Another tradition says that the lost church was a parish church, and the present Llandrillo Church was Enfydd Fechan's chapel attached to his palace of Llys Euran, and that the south aisle was added by parishioners when the old church was lost. If so, it was lost late in the fifteenth century.

In Colwyn Bay, a quarter of a mile from low-water mark of spring tides, in line with the lower end of Erias Dingle, is seen the top of a black rock, only partly visible at dead low-water. This goes by the name of Maen Rhys, and local tradition says that on this rock the shepherd Rhys used to sit and watch his flocks grazing in the fields, now covered with nine feet of sea at low water of the lowest tides. There is a tradition that on the rock is the remains of a castle overthrown by the sea, which broke through a protecting embankment. It is notable that this legend should be connected with the name of Rhys, inasmuch as the same name attaches to a tradition of lost lands on the coast of Pembroke. A correspondent of a Liverpool newspaper visited this rock in March, 1893, and describes it as a mass of conglomerate, similar to that in Erias Dingle. Showing no trace of building, it stood two feet above low-tide mark, and was surrounded by nine feet of water. The summit was 9 feet long and 3 feet 3 inches wide, widening to 7 feet below.

When we come to the east side of Abergele Bay, we have further evidence of loss of land. In Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 350, mention is made of an abatement of quit-rent for Gro-Nant-is-y-mor, made to Bishop John Trevor, because the sea had eaten up his land in those parts. Trevor was bishop 1395 to 1410, and the loss of land must have been great, otherwise it would not have been a subject of correspondence and rearrangement of rents. Gro-Nant is a township in Llanasa, a parish between Mostyn and Prestatyn. Here, therefore, we have a date of a considerable loss. But there is another feature at this point which connects the district with British occupation. A range of hills on the east side of the Vale of Clwyd and all the passes through them are defended by strong forts and earthworks. The narrow strip of flat land now left between Prestatyn and the sea is not of sufficient extent to manœuvre an army upon, nor would a commander attempt it with an enemy on his flank in the hills. If the land were of considerably wider extent it would serve an invader to turn the flank of the eastern Clwydian defences, while it would require works[12] for its protection. Yet this was probably the route taken by Offa, king of Mercia, in 795, when marching to battle against the Welsh on the marsh of Morfa Rhuddlan, a locality now quite unsuited for a battlefield.

As we approach the English boundaries tradition becomes less distinct, as might be expected from the fact that the Saxon invasion in some measure broke its continuity. At Mostyn and Saltney are lands now level with the spring tides, which two or three feet rise or fall would convert either into land or water.

[12] Such a work we actually find in Castell Prestatyn, a square earthwork built by the Strathclyde Britons.

CHESTER.

When we come to Chester, there are evidences that may be due to subsidence, but are not certainly so. An ancient Roman wharf ran down from the present Watergate to the site of the present gasworks. It was a kind of pier supported on oak piles, shod with iron set in concrete. These were found in excavating for the gasworks, their tops fully twenty feet below the present level, and at the same depth was a beach, on which were found pieces of tile, cannel coal, and a pig of Roman lead. If the situation of these indicated subsidence, the land has been restored by silting, which still goes on, as the Dee Conservators know to their cost.

Hilbre Islands tell us no more than that they have lost by erosion all but a very small part of the stratum of clay overlying the rock. From the Eye have been washed paleolithic flint implements, some of which are in Mr. Potter's possession.

THE MEOLS SHORE.

No district in our vicinity has been the subject of so many theories, geological and antiquarian, as the Meols shore, its peat beds with roots of trees and timber embedded, and its many ancient relics of habitation. It is not surprising that this formation should have been a subject of great discussion, as it appears to have been subjected to several complex actions, which require a very close study to disentangle and understand. I am not going to discuss them, as their elucidation belongs to another science. I will only say that there is the strongest evidence that the forest beds and their estuarine clays belong to the latest of the great pleistocene movements, though they show traces of the existence of men of the Paleolithic Age. To my mind they show also minor subsidences

belonging to historic times. These were probably both general and local, and on a comparatively small scale. In addition there have been formed in historic times lagoons of fresh water, due to changes of level, or the damming up of brooks and outlets; and there has likewise been subsequent loss of land by erosion. There certainly is a tradition that the Hoyle banks were once dry land, but beyond this no details have come down. It is said that a map in Lord Mostyn's library shows the Hoyle bank as land, but search recently made failed to discover it. I will at once go on to the archæological evidences.

As the fretting of the sea removes the blown sandhills, there appears, a few inches below the level of spring tides, an ancient surface, showing traces of cultivation. Upon this the remains of mediæval and older houses are continually washed out, together with ploughs, spades, and other agricultural implements; showing that this was arable land. The houses are mostly built on rough stone foundations set in clay, with clay floors, and the walls of the upper part of rough stakes and wattled work. These seem to have lined an irregular village street. On one occasion, in 1890, traces of wheels of carts, horses' feet with round shoes, and the footsteps of cattle and of men, who wore pointed shoes, were for a short time visible on ground below the level of high tide; by the side of the road were refuse heaps, containing bones, shellfish, fragments of iron, coal, cloth, and shoes similar to the footmarks. About a foot below the mediæval floor-level, and about eighteen inches below the line of spring tides, a circular hut was exposed, which I only saw after it was broken up by the tide; but in April, 1892, I was fortunate enough to find the foundation of another circular hut, one half of which was visible

beyond the scarp of the sandhill. The stones were partly rough, but had a few pick-marks and holes cut in them, in which to set the stakes for the conical roof. This hut was certainly 1½ to 2 feet below the level of high tide. Among the innumerable "finds" of ancient objects of every age found on this shore, I will only refer to one set, in the possession of Mr. Potter, that is, the fragments of a British funereal urn. It is of the fragile, badly baked clay commonly used for such urns, and ornamented with string and reticulated patterns. It could not have endured any long exposure, and when found must have been recently washed out of its grave-mound. This is an object not likely to have been carried about, like implements, coins, brooches, or personal ornaments might have been. It vouches for a British occupation and a British burial.

The fact that the British huts are below high spring tides appears to prove some degree of subsidence. A further feature in these ruins has a similar bearing. All these residences have their upright stakes preserved, but in a soft condition, to a uniform height of about 15 to 18 inches; above this height all trace is gone. This could only be caused by the submergence of the land in a shallow fresh-water lagoon, water preserving what lies below its surface. Mr. W. F. Irvine has found traces of this lagoon between Meols, Moreton and Bidston, in place-names; Mr. Potter, in beds of fresh-water shells; while I find it in the above-named condition of the ruined residences. I have been told that a similar circular hut was uncovered some years ago on the New Brighton shore, some distance below high-water mark. For the protection of these dwellings, and others on the level lands, it is probable that forts or places of refuge occupied the hills of Grange, Bidston, and

Wallasey. On the first, some years since, British urn interments were found. These relics are now in the possession of a Gloucestershire antiquary. I hope one day it will be made clear, by the discovery of early relics, that the traces, like those of an entrenched town, at Wallasey are really those of the Weallas who took refuge there.

There is a very general tradition in this district that Wallasey parish had three churches: the parish church of St. Hilary; the second a chapel in the grounds of Liscard Manor, traced by Mr. Ashby Pritt; the third near Leasowe, now lost in the sea. Nothing in this vicinity has been more disputed and doubted than this last tradition. I give the evidences collected for what they are worth. In 1828, during a survey for a suggested canal to Wallasey Pool, Mr. Nimmo found on the shore human skeletons, which he said lay east and west, as in a graveyard, and near the surface. Among the peasants and fishermen it was said that here slabs of stone had been seen, supposed to be gravestones. Mr. Joseph Boult interviewed a man who said he had seen them; but because they were described as being of considerable size he rejected the account entirely. The late Mrs. Maddock, who died a few years ago at an advanced age, and who had resided all her life at Liscard, was told by her father that at the same spot, below the lighthouse, half-way down to low-water mark, he remembered a ruined enclosure wall, which he took to be that of the lighthouse which had been destroyed. As this temporary lighthouse was of wood, the account which others gave of such remains was rejected. There is no reason why older work may not have been uncovered at this site. No record of church or churchyard exists in any of the ecclesiastical annals, and it is objected that burials would not be made in peat; but these remains were near the

surface, and the superincumbent soil in which the graves were dug had been lost by the action of the sea. I see no inherent impossibiliy in the existence of some Saxon, or Danish, graveyard and chapel having stood there; moreover, among the ruins of the mediæval dwellings a few well-wrought stones have been found; and Mr. Potter found below the floor of one a broken stoup, or font, of early mediæval date.[13] So far as the remains of these dwellings show, they were destroyed by fresh water about the reign of Edward III, as relics of a later date are scarce.

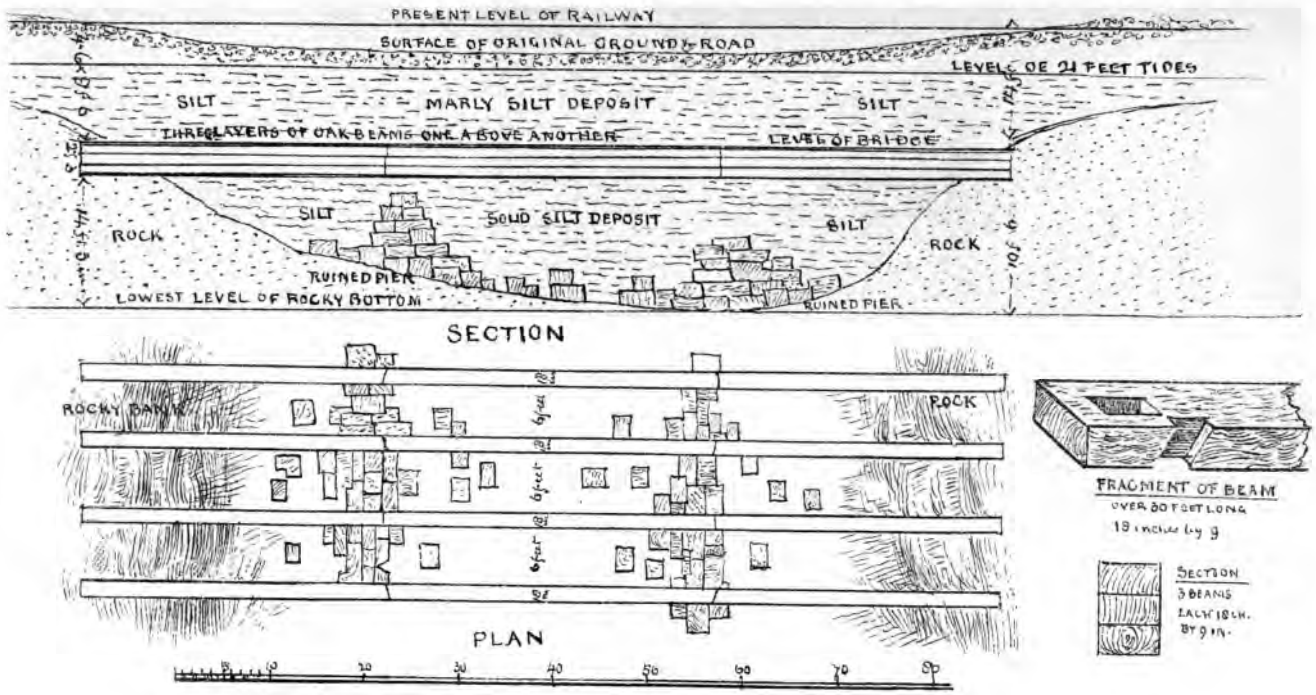
THE MERSEY.

In the Mersey itself we have good historical evidence of serious loss of land in the upper estuary. Two great inundations overwhelmed the meadows of Stanlaw Abbey; these, like the other lost lands, being low, marshy ground. In one of these 150 acres were lost, and the road between Ince and Stanlaw destroyed. The *Coucher Book of Whalley* gives the petitions to Pope Benedict IV for permission to remove thence, in consequence of the floods, which was done in 1296.

Near Eastham a paved road, eighteen feet below the surface, was cut across by the Ship Canal, which level is below high-tide lines. I cannot refer here to the geological evidences shown by the same cutting.

In the Chester Archæological Society's *Proceedings* for 1850 the Rev. Charles Massey gives a full account of a bridge, believed, with fair probability, to be Roman, discovered in making the Chester Railway to Birkenhead Dock, I think in 1845, with plans by Mr. Snow, Engineer. It was composed of four lines of oak bearing beams, lying horizon-

[13] In the present year (1895) a metal cross, about nine inches long, was found near Dove Point.



Plan and section of submerged bridge at Birkenhead (supposed Roman).

tally in three spans, equally spaced. The abutments were rock, and there were two rough stone piers to carry the beams, which the workmen, in excavating for the new bridge, had partly destroyed. The total length was about 100 feet; the width, 23 feet, being about that of a Roman road. The timbers were well squared, of heart of oak, 18 by 9 inches, laid in three courses, one above another, to give depth and strength, and were evidently *in situ*. Some of the timbers were grooved, as if to receive a trellis-formed parapet. The level of the roadway was fourteen to fifteen feet below the level of high tides, and was covered with river silt. Mr. Massey also gives an extract from the *Liverpool Courier* in 1828, stating that during spring tides the bar from Rock Point to Wallasey Hole was nearly laid bare, and disclosed a number of stones, three or four feet thick, stretched across from one side to the other, giving the appearance of a ford. This is not far from the position where a circular hut was uncovered at a later date.

During the excavation of the Manchester Canal, several canoes have been found in the reaches of the river. In all cases these have been at a depth of twelve to twenty-five feet from the surface of the land, and about ten to fifteen feet below the level of the water.

During the present year, 1895, a most interesting paper was read by Mr. May, of Warrington, on two ancient canoes, found twenty-five feet below the surface, near the River Mersey, above Warrington. They were associated with fragments of Roman tile, showing their date to be Roman-British. Certain skulls found in their vicinity are of the Celtic type. Above these in the silt were ranges and groups of piles, and indications of a lattice-work of smaller stakes and brushwood, such as were used for the construction of crannogs and

pile, or platform dwellings. There were only few and uncertain traces of occupation, or of superstructure. The heads of the piles were ten feet below the present surface, and barely up to low-water level. There was only one morticed beam found. The structure was undoubtedly of later date than the canoes, as the stakes were above them. The heads of these timbers being ten feet below the surface might possibly indicate some such subsidence as appears to have occurred at Stanlaw Abbey, lower down the river; the pile constructions being post-Roman, but early enough to continue Celtic fashions. These objects may, however, have come into their present position from other causes, and this explanation is conjectural.[14]

On the Lancashire shore, the only traditions I have met with are that a forest once extended from Formby and Sefton to Hilbre, also that the Burbo Bank was once dry land, and that a fresh-water well was to be found upon it surrounded with masonry. The only confirmation of this that I am able to find is that in a map purporting to be a copy of Ptolemy's, in the edition of his Geography dated 1511, an island is given at the mouth of the Mersey, supposed by Mr. T. Glazebrook Rylands to be the Burbo Bank. On the Formby and Crosby shores are several ancient roads leading to the sea, now apparently objectless. Near Altmouth, in making the Crosby outfall sewer at the upper part of the shore, foundations of dwellings were found—possibly the old lost village of Altmouth; but they were not carefully examined. In a recent paper on Altcar, the Rev. William Warburton says that the mosses in that parish, a little above high-water

[14] The depths below high-water mark of many of the traces show a curious correspondence with each other; *e.g.*, Sarn Badrig, Llys Helig, the bridge at Birkenhead, and the causeway at Puffin Island are all between 14 and 20 feet below the level of spring tides.

mark, contain the trunks of felled trees. As we go northwards the evidences of great changes diminish until we reach the Fylde and Morecambe, which is practically the limit of the present investigation.

Giraldus Cambrensis, while present at St. David's, preaching the Crusade, in the year 1187, speaks of a recent great hurricane on the Pembrokeshire coast, in these words:—"The sandy "shores of South Wales being laid bare by the "extraordinary violence of a storm, the surface of "the earth, which had been covered for many "ages, re-appeared, and discovered the trunks of "trees cut off, standing in the very sea itself, the "strokes of the hatchet appearing as if made only "yesterday." This denudation of the peat and stumps is notable for the mention of axe marks, which seem to indicate a date of submersion of peat or woodland much more recent than that of the pleistocene forest beds.

LOST ROADS.

Another indication of submerged lands adjacent to these coasts is to be found in the existence of a number of ancient roads and trackways which led down to the low lands, but now terminate in the sea, from Llanllechid, Crymlyn, Aber, Llanfairfechan, Penmaenmawr, and through the small pass of Traeth Wylofain at Dwygyfylchi. This latter road Mr. Elias Owen identifies as a Roman vicinal way, branching from the main road between Conovium and Aber.

Not only does this road now lead directly on to the sands, but it actually stretched across them by a causeway to Beaumaris, and was used until some time in the eighteenth century, as shown upon an Itinerary in the possession of this Society, in another published in the middle of last century, in the possession of Mr. C. Potter,

and in Collins' Chart, dated 1693, which shows the roads and the ferry. This was no mere track over the sands. Mr. Elias Owen, in a letter to me, says :—" I well remember, thirty-five years " ago, noticing particularly the ridge or raised " roadway then existing, and which there was every " reason for believing was a Roman road, raised " and paved, going over the sands, and which most " likely ended in a ferry opposite Beaumaris, " available at low water."

The long piece of causeway extending from Priestholme in the direction of Penmaenmawr, visible for about 1½ miles at 7 to 10 feet below the water at ordinary low tides, is almost certainly a branch of the road to Beaumaris. I have seen and examined a part of this causeway below the water on a clear and fine day. It is a raised causeway, twelve to fifteen feet wide, apparently paved with large stones, well fitted together. Mr. Owen's recollection of the road is most important, inasmuch as its construction, as he describes it, appears to correspond with the causeway from Puffin Island. The boatman who took me to see it, assured me that it was recognised by the country people as a road, and not as a ridge of rocks; the tradition is retained in the neighbourhood that it reached to Penmaenmawr. The same boatman pointed out to me a position in the sea, opposite the village of Penmaenmawr, which is called *Muriau*, " the Walls " ; and informed me that when fishing near there when a boy, his father had pointed out to him the ruins of houses below the water. In answer to my enquiry as to their forms and dimensions, he said that some were square like houses, others resembled sheep-folds, and others were merely long lines of wall; that they were all certainly buildings and not ridges of rock, and that they were built like the fences of fields, of rather

large stones, but the walls were stronger and thicker. Near the same place is pointed out by tradition prevailing all through the country the palace of Helig ap Glannog. It is visible twice in the year, at the lowest tides, above the surface of the water.

The termination in the sea of various ancient roads which formerly extended to the plains, has already been mentioned; it remains to suggest the lines with which they were connected on the low lands.

In Collins' *Hydrographic Survey*, 1693, is marked the road formerly existing over the Lavan Sands, from Conway to Beaumaris, which continued in partial use until within living memory. Two roads are marked; one called the low-water, and the other the high-water way. The former passed along the shore diagonally, in a line nearly due west from Penmaen Bach, at almost half-tide mark, till nearly opposite Beaumaris, where there was a ferry across the narrow channel. The high-water road, of which some remnants still exist on the mountain-side, left the shore at Penmaenmawr, and skirted the lower slopes of the mountain, descending near Llanfairfechan in a nearly parallel line to the south of the other road, and thence falling into the low-water route. The map appears to indicate regularly made roads rather than mere shore tracks. The causeway (sarn) running south-east from Puffin Island, probably a branch of this road, is also plainly marked on the chart, pointing in the direction of Llys Helig. It commences at the Middle Rock in the strait, not from the island, in Collins' Chart, and is marked "Causeway." Its length is over a mile.

In Abergele Bay a road appears to have ran along the coast-line of the low land, now lost in the sea. Foryd, near Rhyl, was the ford for this road across the Clwyd. Thence trace of it is lost,

till we find an ancient trackway crossing by Penrhyn, in rear of Little Ormes Head, where it appears to have trended, with a branch towards the south-west, to meet the causeway projecting from Ynys Seiriol. About half-way along this line it would pass Llys Helig, and branch off nearly on the low-water line shown on Collins' Chart, passing in its course the submerged ruins know as Muriau, and thence along the strait to Dinas Dinlle, continuing in a direct line over what is now sea to Arianrhod. From Dinas Dinlle and Conovium the coast road, after passing Traeth Mawr, probably ran on the summit of the ancient embankment, traditionally said to have been used by St Patrick on his embarkation to Ireland. These lines of road would serve as the most direct for the ports and coast places, and the lost stations of Llys Helig, Castell Tremlydd, Muriau, Caer Gwydno, and Arianrhod, together with the surrounding ones of Dinas Dinlle and Seguntium, would be natural points of junction or defence on these routes.

PLACE NAMES.

Among the surviving names of the lost towns, there may be some significance as to their former character. Llys Helig means the "Palace of the Willow," and though Helig is a personal name, it may have been derived from the willows growing on the marshy land by the junction of the rivers Conway and Ell, near which the palace would stand. The Ell means the "Eel River," an appropriate name for a marsh stream, that gathered the waters of only a few small brooks from the mountains. Arianrhod means the "Silver Circle," and near it was Bryn Aryn, the "Silver Hill." At the northern limit of Helig's land was Bryn Eurian, the "Golden Hill," still so named. Caer Cenydir, in the Contre Gwaelod, is the "Camp of the Tribes."

One of the lost cities of Cardigan Bay, and near the centre of Cantre Gwaelod, was Cadair y Cedawl, the "Chair or Throne of Cedawl," one of those seats whence judgment was delivered. There was a saint called Cedawl—"The chair of Cedawl "God has overthrown." *(Black Book of Carmarthen.)* Sarn y Bwch, the ruined embankment now in the sea, is the "Causeway of the He-goat." Sarn Badrig is the "Road or Causeway of St. Patrick" The use of the word "sarn," or causeway, applied to all these embankments, rather than "cloddfa," an embanking only, is an indication that they were raised roads as well as defences against the encroachments of the sea.

Most of these names suggest characteristics of regular military occupation or transit; none of them are connected with marine associations; and they most likely bring down to us something of the features of the lost lands.

SUMMARY.

To sum up shortly these somewhat meagre items of tradition and archæology into a consistent whole, I think it will be admitted that their general unity and consistency makes the whole case a very good and credible one. Built up as it is of mere fragments of evidence, there is little in the structure of a difficult or discordant character. Take, first, tradition: it is strong and general; it is unvarying in any important detail; it is not the repetition of some literary fable, for all its literature simply recognises a formerly-existing oral tradition.

The fact that the continuity of these losses and subsidences come eventually quite clearly into the mediæval and recent history of the same districts suffices to prove them part of a series of such movements dating from very early times, running back in regular succession to the age of paleolithic man and the pleistocene mammals.

Next, we have the ranges of forts set in the uplands, the strongest being those leading from the lowlands and now bordering the sea in such a way that they would be for such defence comparatively useless. I hope to show in another paper how those of the great stronghold between Conway and Ogwen guard roads that lose themselves in what is now sea. A still more striking instance is the fort of Dinas Dinlle, with its triple wall and huts for a permanent garrison, formerly guarding the road from Arianrhod to the fastnesses of the Eifel mountain. Standing on a projecting promontory, it could be cut off by a small force from the hills as it now stands; while Porth Dinllaen guards the Roman fords, now unfordable, and, on the southern side of the Eifel range, the great camp of Caer Criri was the retreat from the Traeth Mawr and Cantre Gwaelod. Bwrd Arthur serves a similar purpose for the west of the Abergele lowlands and Castel Cam, and the Clwydian forts supply its eastern defences. In the north of Wirral, no less than four of the oldest roads and tracks lead directly into the sea, as also do some at Crosby and Formby.

Lastly, we have the ruins of buildings below the sea at Cantre Gwaelod, Arianrhod, Maldraeth, three cairns marked on the sands near Holyhead, Llys Helig, the causeways on the Lavan Sands, and the great embankments at Cardigan Bay, the Meols dwellings, and the sunken bridge at Birkenhead. These indications have been held as incredible, and have been attributed to natural geological peculiarities. From what I have seen of them, I should think nature had gone much further out of her way to produce a consecutive series of such marvellous results, than that the traditional causes, which say they are the works of man, lost by subsidences of the land, should be deemed incredible,

The value of arable lands and levels fit for cultivation would be extremely great in a country such as Wales, with which the communication was through difficult roads and passes, liable to be interrupted by storms, or harassed by guerilla warfare. They would be of the highest importance, both to the natives, who were accustomed to moving from the plains to the hills in summer, and still more so to the Romans, who had to provide sustenance from the land for their garrisons. In *Archæologia Cambriensis*, 1855, an ancient saying is quoted: "If Anglesea can grow corn for all North "Wales, Carnarvon can give mountain pasture."

It is evident that the losses of land on these coasts within historical times have not been due to great, simultaneous, cosmic movement involving the whole coast, but have been of a local character; and, so far as tradition and history serve us, they have been successive, from the second or third century, to the present day. We cannot in any other way reconcile their chronology. Their progress also seems to have been from south to north, the southern being the earliest in date, though they may have occurred more than once in the same district. It is almost certain this was the case in the Mersey estuary and Lavan Sands. The date given for the loss of Cantre Gwaelod would place it in the sixth century, if we are to accept the genealogy of Gwydno; and though both the sons of Saithenyn and of Helig are said to have accepted the religious life at the college of Bangor Iscoed, it does not follow that both families did so at the same time. The college was founded A.D. 180, and destroyed in A.D. 603. The date given for the submersion of part of the Morfa Rhyanedd is 331. There is reason to believe that Gwydno and Helig both lived early in the sixth century, as Taliesin, in the middle of that century, appears to refer to the submergences as recent,

and he was rescued from the fish weir. As the names of SS. Cybi and Seiriol are connected with this disaster, St. Cybi being Bishop of Holyhead in 328 and a pupil of this college, this is also a possible date for partial losses. Helig, whose palace was submerged, lived at the end of the fifth and early in the sixth century. There is no certain date for the destruction of St. Teilo's Monastery in Colwyn Bay. About 1400, the lands of Gronant were lost to the see of St. Asaph, and in the thirteenth century occurred the destructive floods that drove the monks from Stanlaw; and about the reign of Edward III the dwellings of the Meols shore were, according to archæological evidence, submerged in a lagoon, and the tidal erosion now destroys their remains. Later, we have the Abergele tombstone,[15] and the record of farms lost within living memory near Colwyn Bay, the embankments to save Leasowe marshes, and £30,000 expended recently to stay the rapid loss near Rhyl. The Mostyn and Flint marshes twenty-one years ago were pastures traversed by numerous tidal rills; now they are a sea of mud, mostly devoid of vegetation.

Thus, from age to age, the forces that make and unmake our world go on, and their sequence connects us with the marvels of geology and physics, and, not least, with the unwritten history of our race that lies hidden in the traditions and relics of the past.

[15] The inscription on this tombstone is as follows :—

	Translation.
"Yma mae'n gorwedd	"Here lieth,
Y Monwent Mihangel,	In the Churchyard of St. Michael,
Gwr oedd a'i annedd	A man whose dwelling was
Dair milltir y gogledd."	Three miles to the northward."

Abergele Churchyard is now about half-a-mile from the sea northward. The epitaph is quoted by Edward Jones in 1802.

ON THE VALUE OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN LEGAL MATTERS.

By William Oliver Roper.

Read 8th February, 1894.

"WHY vex thyself with vain genealogies?" "Why trouble with all these dry details "of events which occurred two, three, or even four "hundred years ago; which cannot be a pleasure, "and which certainly are not a profit?" Such are the questions. The reply is that not only are such investigations a pleasure, but that only few have any idea of the value these investigations may have in legal matters. To take one case which occurs to me in my own experience. The facts in this case were published in the local papers, but it seems desirable that the details—interesting in themselves, and ultimately of considerable legal value—should be recorded in a more permanent and appropriate form.

In the Autumn of 1889 I was instructed to investigate and, if thought proper, to support the claim of the owner of Leighton Hall to a certain pew in Warton Church, known as the Leighton Hall pew. The facts as given to me were that—

1. The pew had from time immemorial belonged to Leighton Hall, in the ancient parish of Warton.

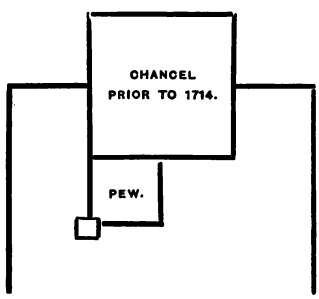
2. The pew had for fifty years been let by the owner of Leighton Hall.

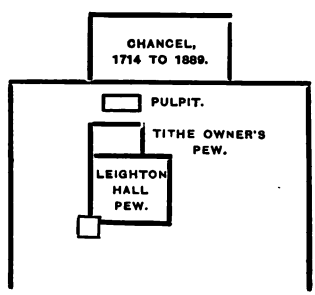
3. The Vicar and Churchwardens had applied to the Chancellor of the Diocese for a faculty for the reseating of the church, which would involve the demolition of the Leighton Hall Pew.

4. This application for a faculty had been adjourned to a Court to be held in January, 1890.

These were the bare facts, and to the aid of these facts came the result of genealogical investigations and enquiries into the antiquities of Warton which I had made some years before.

The picture drawn from the bare facts presented a very different appearance when it received its archæological colouring. The result was this:—The Church of Warton, some eight miles north of Lancaster, existed prior to the Reformation, and probably up to the Reformation there were no pews in it. But soon after that time, and for some two centuries later, the arrangement of the church was different to what it was in 1889. From pre-Reformation times the church has always consisted of a nave, with north and south aisles, and a chancel; the chancel, however, formerly extended more to the westward than it did during the period between 1714 and 1889. The two following sketches shew the chancel as it existed prior to 1714, and as it existed from 1714 to 1889:—





The various authorities as to the former arrangement of the pews are as follows:—

1. A manuscript history of Warton, written between 1710 and 1744, by John Lucas, a native of the parish—a copy of part of which is now in the possession of the Vicar—states:—"On the "right hand is a large pew belonging to Sir "George Middleton, of Leighton Hall, in which "are eight escutcheons. . . Over the door is "a large escutcheon cut in the same manner. On "the side of the pew $\frac{M}{G\,A}$ 1662. To the west of "the pew is fixed a small marble monument in a "brazen frame, to the memory of Sir George "Middleton."

2. Dr. Whitaker, writing in 1823, states, in his *History of Richmondshire*:—"With respect to the "pews of this church, there are no vestiges of any "such appropriated to particular houses before the "Reformation, except the patron's pew, still occu-"pied by the farmer of the impropriate tithes. "Within the nave, however, some preference "appears to have been shewn to the owners of "the chief estates in the parish with respect to the "occupation of the principal stalls, though as a "compliment rather than as a matter of right; "but on the allotment of pews, one of which in "this church bears the early date of 1571, regard "appears to have been generally paid to the actual "occupation which had preceded, and a right was "conferred by positive allotment in consequence. "Thus at Warton the first pew, very spacious and "handsome, on the right hand at the upper end "of the nave, belonged to the Middletons of "Leighton."

3. An anonymous plan, made early in the eighteenth century, shews the pew, and marks it with the name of the then owner of Leighton Hall.

4. Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1870 edition, page 602) stated that "In the nave is the spacious "pew of the Middletons of Leighton, with carved "oak panelling and nine shields, containing the "family arms and the date 1614."

So far the documentary evidence. The evidence from the church itself, as appearing in my notes taken years before, furnished rather more detail.

The pew was nearly square. At the north-west corner was a pillar projecting into it, and on three sides of the pew were certain shields, with armorial bearings of various members of the Middleton family. Below the centre shield was the date 1614. On the pillar which projected into the pew was an inscription to the memory of Sir George Middleton, who died in 1673, and above this was a tablet bearing an inscription in memory of several members of the Worswick family of Leighton Hall, who died between 1807 and 1813.

So far the documentary evidence and the evidence from the church. The only remaining evidence then available showed that Leighton Hall had passed in 1824 to the father of the present owner, and that since 1841 the pew had been let for £1 10*s*. a year to a parishioner.

Summarised, the evidence seemed to shew—

1. That the pew belonged to the Middletons of Leighton Hall in 1614.

2. That one at least of the Middletons had been buried beneath it in 1673 and the tablet to his memory was still attached to the pillar in the corner of the pew.

3. Lucas, writing the history of the parish between 1710 and 1744, describes the pew as belonging to the Middletons of Leighton Hall.

4. The anonymous plan shows that about 1715 the pew was supposed to belong to the owners of Leighton Hall.

5. Tablets recording deaths of members of the family owning Leighton Hall are affixed to the pillar in the pew in 1807-13.

6. Dr. Whitaker, writing in 1823, states that the pew belonged to the Middletons of Leighton Hall.

7. The owner of Leighton Hall has received rent for the pew from 1841 to 1889.

Armed with this information, I appeared, in January, 1890, at the adjourned hearing of the application for a faculty for the restoration of the church. The Chancellor of the Diocese heard the application, and on behalf of the owner of Leighton Hall the facts in reference to the Leighton Hall pew were placed before him.

Commencing with the shields in the pew and the tablet in memory of Sir George Middleton, the descent of the pew was traced through the Worswicks to the present claimant, and a *primâ facie* case was submitted in support of the claim to the pew. The Chancellor stated that in his opinion there was *primâ facie* evidence of some rights in the pew. The Vicar and Churchwardens argued that further and more tangible evidence was necessary to support a claim to a pew by prescription. As, therefore, the church authorities seemed to seriously dispute the claim, I at once stated that I appeared in deference to the Court, but I submitted that the question was not one which could be decided by the Chancellor, and for this reason—that, when a claim is set up to a pew of title by prescription, the question is one which must be tried in a Court of Common Law. The Chancellor agreed that as such a claim had been set up to the Leighton Hall pew he could not decide, and eventually the Court adjourned till the 11th of April.

So far, therefore, the progress of the matter had been in favour of the claim. It had been decided

that there was *primâ facie* evidence of the right to the pew, and the Chancellor's jurisdiction was therefore at an end.

Two points should be emphasised here. The first is that had it not been for archæological investigation, this *primâ facie* evidence would probably not have been forthcoming, or might not have been sufficiently strong, and the faculty would have been granted. The evidence mainly consisted of the shields of arms, the bearings on which were carefully described to the Chancellor, and the pedigree of the Middleton family as it appeared in the visitations. But for this heraldic and genealogical information, it is probable the claim could not at the moment have been sustained. The second is that the Chancellor having decided that he had no jurisdiction, the Church authorities had no power to move. They had no faculty, and therefore if they attempted to touch the pew an injunction could at once have been obtained against them.

This part of the proceedings showed the importance of putting a *primâ facie* case before the Chancellor, and thus placing the matter in a position in which no steps could be taken without having the claim thoroughly investigated and decided.

The Vicar and Churchwardens and the Restoration Committee then endeavoured to negotiate terms. In order to the proper consideration of the terms suggested, it became necessary to further consider the law on the subject. The most recent case on the subject was that of Halliday *v.* Phillips (*Weekly Reporter*, vol. xxxvii, p. 776; *Law Times*, vol. lxiv n.s., p. 745). In that case the Master of the Rolls stated that the claimant would be required to shew that he had the exclusive right to the pew, as appurtenant to a house within the

parish, either (1) by prescription at Common Law, (2) under the Prescription Act, or (3) by showing such circumstances as required the Court to presume a grant of a faculty. The Court decided that case on the third ground. It was shewn that some two hundred years ago the claimant's predecessor had obtained an illegal grant of the site of the pew from the churchwardens; that for two hundred years the pew had been occupied by the claimant's predecessors in title residing in the house to which it was claimed as being appurtenant; that it had been repaired during the present century by the claimant; and that he held the key of it. The Court held that a faculty must be presumed, and decided in favour of the Claimant.

Comparing this with the Warton case, there was evidence from the shields in the pew to shew that it was erected by the owners of Leighton Hall; that certain use had been made of it, by burial underneath it in 1673 and by the erection of tablets in 1807-13. But there was no evidence of user of the pew since 1813, except the letting of it; and there was no evidence of repair by the owner of Leighton Hall. Were the links of evidence extending from 1614 to 1813 sufficient to warrant the presumption of a faculty having been granted? If they were, the further question arose whether this faculty had been lost by non-user and non-repair of the pew; or had the occupation of it by a parishioner, holding under a title hostile to that of the Vicar and Churchwardens—though the letting of the pew might in itself be illegal—prevented the creation or revival of rights in the Vicar and Churchwardens?

Lord Justice Bowen, in his judgment in the above-mentioned case of Halliday *v.* Phillips, remarks:—"The possession of a pew may raise "a good possessory title as against a mere wrong-

"doer, but it would not be sufficient as against "the churchwardens and the parson of the parish. "There is, however, another kind of right in pews, "viz.: where there is an exclusive right to a pew "even as against the Ordinary himself. A claimant "to a pew appurtenant to a house may succeed by "shewing such acts of user as can only be "explained upon the presumption that a right "was created by a faculty since the date of legal "memory. If acts of user can be shewn for a "long time which are more consistent with the "existence of such a right than the reverse, it "is the duty of the Court to hold that there "has been some legal origin to account for so "long a possession, and which must be a lost "faculty.

"Taking the whole of the evidence, would not "any reasonable man say that the way in which "this pew has been treated can only be explained "by the suggestion that the plaintiff and his "predecessors have had a right to treat it as they "have done? If the answer to that question be "in the affirmative, the inference is that there "must have been a faculty to account for what "would otherwise have been a high-handed "usurpation of the pew."

Another authority—Mr., now Sir Francis, Jeune—stated, on the facts connected with the Leighton Hall pew, that he had very little doubt that, if all the facts could be proved, it would be shewn that the pew in question was appurtenant to Leighton Hall. He pointed out, however, that there did not appear to be any evidence of repair of the pew within living memory. But he was strongly of opinion that it would be competent for the Vicar and Churchwardens to come to terms with the owner of Leighton Hall, and for that purpose to agree to a faculty being granted, allotting

another pew in another part of the church in lieu of the one claimed.

While negotiations were proceeding, the case came on again before the Chancellor of the Diocese. The Church authorities applied for the faculty, but the Chancellor stated that he could only grant a faculty by reserving to the owner of Leighton Hall such rights, if any, in certain new seats, to be specified, as he then had in the seat claimed by him. This the Church authorities did not see their way to accept without consulting the parishioners, and the further hearing was adjourned to the 2nd of May, 1890.

Negotiations were resumed, and resulted in an agreement, dated the 9th of May, 1891, between the Vicar and Churchwardens, the Restoration Committee, and the owner of Leighton Hall, whereby it was referred to the Chancellor of the Diocese to decide—(1) whether the owner of Leighton Hall was entitled by faculty, prescription, or otherwise to the pew in Warton Church known as the Leighton Hall pew; (2) by whom the costs of the reference should be paid; and (3) all other matters in controversy which had arisen. In the event of the Chancellor's decision being in favour of the claim, it was agreed that the owner of Leighton Hall should accept a certain pew marked on the plan in lieu of the old Leighton Hall pew.

In pursuance of this agreement the Chancellor attended at Warton, and examined the pew, and heard evidence in the usual way. The case, as put before the Chancellor, was to the following effect, and from this statement of the case it is easy to see how material a portion of it was the result of archæological research, and how comparatively small a portion rested upon other evidence.

The claimant asserted his right to the Leighton Hall pew in Warton Church as appurtenant to his house of Leighton Hall, in the parish of Warton, on these grounds :—

1. The pew—a square seat on the north side of the nave, and immediately in front of the pulpit—contains nine shields, bearing the arms of various members of the Middleton family. From the Visitations it appears that this family were for many generations at Leighton Hall. Their pedigree shews that Geoffrey Middleton married Alice Croft. This alliance at once accounts for the first three shields of arms in the pew, viz. :—

(1) *Argent, a saltire engrailed Sable*, for Middleton ;

(2) *Lozengy Argent and Sable*, for Croft ;

(3) *Argent, a saltire engrailed Sable*, for Middleton, impaling, *Lozengy Argent and Sable*, for Croft.

Their son, Robert, married Anna, the daughter of Robert Betham, and heiress of the Bethams and Burtons. This alliance is shown on the next shield of arms, viz. :—

(4) Quarterly; first and fourth Middleton, second and third Croft ;
impaling, first and fourth, *Argent, three fleur de lys Azure*, for Betham ;
second and third, *Argent, a chevron indented Azure*, for Burton.

The fifth shield shows the arms—

(5) Quarterly ; Middleton, Croft, Betham, and Burton.

Their son, Thomas Middleton, married Jane Strickland, of Sizergh, an alliance shown on the sixth shield thus—

(6) Quarterly; Middleton, Croft, Betham, and Burton,
impaling, first and fourth, *Sable, three escallops Argent*, for Strickland;
second and third, *Sable, a fess dancettée between eleven billets*, for Deincourt.

The grandson of this marriage, George or Geoffrey Middleton, married for his first wife Anne, daughter of Sir Marmaduke Tunstall, of Thurland Castle, and their arms appear in the next shield—

(7) Quarterly; Middleton, Croft, Betham, and Burton,
impaling, *Sable, three combs Argent*, for Tunstall.

For his second wife, George or Geoffrey Middleton married Margaret, daughter of Sir Christopher Medcalfe, and the eighth shield bears their arms—

(8) Quarterly; Middleton, Croft, Betham, and Burton,
impaling, quarterly, first and fourth, *Argent, three calves passant Sable*, for Medcalfe;
second and third, *Or, three hammers Sable*, for Hammerton.

Thomas Middleton—the son by the first wife—married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Hoghton, and their arms appear on the grand shield, which bears—

(9) Quarterly; Middleton, Croft, Betham, and Burton,
impaling, quarterly, first and fourth, *Sable, three bars Argent*, for Hoghton;
second and third, *Argent, a mullet Sable*, for Ashton.

Below this shield is carved the date 1614.

From these shields it may fairly be argued that the pew belonged to the Middleton family of Leighton Hall in 1614.

2. The next link in the chain of evidence is the small tablet on the pillar projecting into the pew, which bears the following inscription to the memory of Sir George Middleton, a distinguished Royalist, and the son of Thomas Middleton and Catherine Hoghton :—

> Here lies the body of S^{r}
> George Middleton of
> Leighton K^{t} and Bart who
> died ye 27 of Feb^{r} in ye yeare
> of our Lord God 1673 and in
> the 74 yeare of his age.

From this it appears that Sir George Middleton was buried beneath the pew, and it is therefore evidence of ownership of the pew down to 1673.

3. The next link—the statements in Lucas's MS. history of Warton as to the pew—was ruled to be inadmissable, as, though the manuscript was produced by the Vicar, it could not be shewn to be one of the parish books.

4. So also the anonymous plan, shewing the pew to have been considered, about 1715, to belong to Leighton Hall, was ruled not to be evidence.

5. Then came the marble tablet on the pillar projecting into the pew, and bearing inscriptions to the memory of members of the Worswick family, owners of Leighton Hall in 1807-13.

6. Next came the evidence of a lady, who was able to prove that Leighton Hall was let about the year 1821, and that she could remember the tenant coming to church and sitting in the Leighton Hall pew.

7. Following this came the evidence of the claimant, who proved that his father and himself, being Roman Catholics, had not attended Warton Church, but had let the pew to a parishioner; and this parishioner was able to prove the payment of rent for the pew from 1841 to 1889.

8. This parishioner also proved that he had altered the width of the seat in the pew, and that the Vicar and Churchwardens never exercised any rights of ownership over the pew.

9. Lastly came two or three of the oldest parishioners, who gave evidence to the effect that the pew had always been considered to belong to Leighton Hall, and that they had never seen the Vicar and Churchwardens interfere with it.

Such was the case for the claimant.

The Vicar and Churchwardens, on the other hand, contended that no sufficient evidence had been given to support the claim.

In replying on the whole case, on behalf of the claimant, I drew particular attention to the words in Lord Justice Bowen's judgment in Halliday *v.* Phillips:—"Taking the whole of the evidence, "would not any reasonable man say that the way "in which this pew had been treated can only be "explained by the suggestion that the claimant "and his predecessors had a right to treat it as "they have done? If the answer to that question "be in the affirmative, the inference is that there "must have been a faculty to account for what "would otherwise have been a high-handed usur-"pation of the pew." And in reference to the sufficiency of the evidence, I drew the Chancellor's attention to the case of Pepper *v.* Barnard (*Jurist*, vol. vii, p. 1128), where Lord Denman referred to the fact of the claimant of a pew being a

Roman Catholic as satisfactorily accounting for meagreness of the evidence of occupancy, and sustained the claim to the pew.[1]

On the 16th of November, 1891, the Chancellor made his award, and found that the claimant, as the owner and occupier of Leighton Hall, was entitled by prescription to the said pew in the parish church of Warton so claimed by him as aforesaid, and that the costs of the reference and award be paid by the Vicar and Churchwardens.

Accordingly the faculty issued on the 4th day of December, 1891, ordered:—(1.) That a certain pew which had been agreed upon should be substituted for the Leighton Hall pew. (2.) That the coats of arms placed upon the present Leighton Hall pew be affixed to the substituted pew. (3.) And that the use of the pew so substituted be henceforth enjoyed by the claimant and his assigns, owners and occupiers of Leighton Hall.

In pursuance of this faculty the church was restored, and the shields of arms, which had played so important a part in the case, were carefully fixed in the back of the new Leighton Hall pew.

May not this case, therefore, be said to be one instance shewing the value of archæology in legal matters?

[1] Other cases on the subject are—Knapp *v.* Nicol (Robertson's *Ecclesiastical Reports*, vol. ii, p. 366); Louseby *v* Hayward (*Y. and J.*, vol. i, p. 583); Bennett *v.* Fawcett (*Times Law Reports* for week ending July 13th, 1887).

THE "PROGRESS" OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH IN CHESHIRE, IN SEPTEMBER, 1682.[1]

By the late J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

Read 5th April, 1894.

FEW personages in English history have retained such a firm hold upon the interest of the general public as the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, who is, however, chiefly remembered as the Protestant hero of the rising in the West of England against the Roman Catholicism of James II. The tragic fate of himself and of so many of his followers, and the atrocities perpetrated in the name of justice by Judge Jeffries, all tend to lend an air of romance to his name, and have impressed themselves very forcibly upon the imagination of all educated Englishmen. But if the most tragic episodes of his life are connected with the West of England, yet hardly anyone is aware that only a year or two before the fatal year 1685 the duke was the object of an outbreak of popular enthusiasm in some of the more northern counties, which, had it not been checked, might easily have led to an open rebellion. An account of this, drawn almost entirely from new and hitherto unpublished sources, it affords me pleasure to lay before the Society.

[1] Mainly from unpublished documents in the Public Record Office and in several private collections.

The Duke of Monmouth was the illegitimate son of Charles II, whilst the latter was an exile at the Hague, by Lucy Walters, or Barlow, a Welsh beauty, described by Evelyn as "a browne, "beautiful, bold, but insipid creature." Previous to her amour with the king, she had been the mistress of Colonel Robert Sidney,[2] called "the handsome Sidney," and by James II and many others the child was thought to be his son, and to be far more like him than the king. The child was born at Rotterdam on April 9th, 1649. As he grew up he was acknowledged by the king as his son, and in 1663 was created Duke of Monmouth. In 1665 he married Anne, Countess of Buccleuch, a Scotch heiress with £10,000 a year, and in 1670, on the death of George Monk, the great Duke of Albemarle, he was created Captain-General of all the king's forces, and was admitted to the Privy Council.

He was then twenty-one years of age, and was so exceedingly handsome as to be quite noticeable. A contemporary writer thus describes him[3] :—

"His face and the exterior graces of his person were such that nature has perhaps never formed anything more satisfactory. His countenance was altogether charming: it was a manly countenance, without anything insipid or effeminate; notwithstanding, each feature had its beauty and peculiar delicacy. A wonderful disposition for all sorts of exercise, an attractive address, an air of greatness, in fine all the personal advantages spoke in his favour; but his mind said not one word for him. This dazzling exterior was that which struck at first. All the good looks of those at court were extinguished by his, and all the great matches were at his disposal. He was the king's greatest delight, but he was the universal terror of husbands and lovers. That, however, did not last long; nature had not given him all that is required to captivate hearts: and the fair sex soon perceived it."

[2] There is a very good portrait of him in the Musée at Amsterdam.

[3] Translated from the French of the author of the *Memoires du Grammont*. (See Roberts' *Life of the Duke of Monmouth*, pp. 16-17.)

This critical description of the duke's personal beauty is confirmed from many other sources, and is shown by contemporary portraits; and it was, no doubt, one of the chief sources of the attraction which he exercised over the common people, with whom he was later on to be so closely brought into contact. The poet Dryden, in his poem of *Absalom and Achitophel*, thus describes him, under the former title:—

> "Of all the numerous progeny was none
> So beautiful, so brave, as Absalom.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Whate'er he did was done with so much ease,
> In him alone 'twas natural to please.
> His motions all accompany'd with grace;
> And Paradise was open'd in his face.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> What faults he had, for who from faults is free?
> His father could not, or he would not, see."

It is needless to follow the duke through all the vicissitudes of his career during the next ten years of his life, but it may be stated that he took part in the second Dutch War, and there not only acquired a knowledge of actual warfare, but showed much personal bravery.

About 1673 there arose a great fear that James, Duke of York, the king's brother, afterwards James II, was unduly favouring the Roman Catholic religion; so that the leaders of the Protestant party looked to the Duke of Monmouth as their champion and as a possible heir-presumptive to the throne, and he became popularly known as "the Protestant Duke." But Charles absolutely refused to agree to the suggestion that he had ever been married to the duke's mother, and so his chance of succeeding to the throne became a very remote one. After the excitement caused by the so-called Popish Plot, in 1679, the Duke of York had to leave England, and went to Brussels. But

towards the end of that year the Court intrigues were so great that the Duke of Monmouth was also compelled to leave England, and went to Holland. Here he remained a short time only, returning to England without leave in November of that year.

In August, 1680, he undertook a series of visits to the chief houses in the West of England, and passing from place to place was so well received by the populace as to make a sort of semi-regal "progress." This caused much uneasiness at Court, and the next two years saw great discussions and intrigues, especially with regard to the bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. Finally the Duke of Monmouth's popularity at Court began to wane, and the king refused to see him, and forbade the members of the Privy Council and his servants to hold any communication whatever with him.

Such, then, was the position of affairs when the duke resolved upon his "second progress," and this time he selected the counties of Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, which were thought to be more or less disaffected to the Government. As has been well remarked,[4] "the "success of the first progress, only two years "before, in gaining the affection of the people and "securing partisans, suggested this second effort. "The pretence was to take the air, and to divert "himself at several horse-races in Cheshire. The "intention was to traverse the before-mentioned "counties with a retinue of above an hundred "persons, armed and magnificently accoutred."

The methods adopted are described as follows[5]:—

"The high gentry of the Whig party met him at the head of their tenants, in different places; and as the ancient manners

4 Roberts' *Life of the Duke of Monmouth*, vol. i, p. 132.
5 *Ibid*, quoting Dalrymple's *Memoirs*.

of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town he quitted his coach and rode into it on horseback The nobility and gentry went foremost in a band, at a distance, and single rode the duke; and at a distance behind him, the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him formed themselves into three ranks—the nobility and gentry and burgesses being placed in the front, the tenants in the next, and the servants in the last. He gave orders for two hundred covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them by going out at the other: at other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen."

Dryden's poetical description of the first progress applies equally well to the second.[6]

> "Th' admiring crowd are dazzled with surprise,
> And on his goodly person feast their eyes.
> His joy conceal'd, he sets himself to show;
> On each side bowing popularly low:
> His looks, his gestures, and his words he frames,
> And with familiar ease repeats their names.
> Thus, formed by nature, furnish'd out with arts
> He glides unfelt into their secret hearts."

He arrived at Coventry on Thursday, the 7th September, 1682, where he was well received by several of the aldermen, and a great bonfire was lighted at night. The next day, Friday, he proceeded to Lichfield, thence to Stone, and finally to Trentham Hall, where he was received by William Leveson-Gower, Esq. (ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland), and a large number of Staffordshire gentlemen.

A letter from Ingestre, signed Charles King, (Chaplain to Mr. Chetwynd,) and dated 9th September, 1682, gives particulars of the "progress" as far as Trentham :—

"His Grace ye Duke of Monmouth came yesterday from Coventry (where he lay on Thursday night) about one o'clock to

6 *Absalom and Achitophel*, published in 1681.

Lichfield and tho' there was then in the Town a numerous assembly of Gentlemen of Quality who came to an Horse race there and many of them in ye house where ye Duke lighted, yet not one of them went to wait on his Grace. From thence wth his whole retinue which consisted of no more than 8 or 9 persons (all except Sr Tho. Armstrong and one Mr Carleton of Shropshire being servants) he passed on Post horses to Stone not one Gentleman of ye Country waiting on him in ye way. Att Stone he was received by Mr Leveson Gower, who with a considerable number of gentlemen waited his coming there, among which were Mr Offley of Madeley, Mr Ralph Sneyd of Bradwall, Mr Crompton of Stone Parke and many more, from whence his Grace went in Mr Leveson's Coach to Trentham where he supt and lay that night."

The next morning, Saturday, September 9th, he left Trentham in Mr. Leveson-Gower's coach, and, as a contemporary letter states—

"About 12 o'clock the great man came to Nantwich. He had with him about one hundred and twenty of the nobility and gentry of Cheshire and Staffordshire, all on horseback and armed. Four or five boys went before as harbingers. Lord Brandon, eldest son of the Earl of Macclesfield [of the Gerard line], young Mr. Booth, son of Lord Delamere, and another, marched before the duke as a forlorn hope, and encouraged the breasts of the people who lined the hedges to shout for joy at his coming, which was done in such volleys as wanted nothing but a *Vive le Roi* to complete a rebellion." [7]

Another contemporary writer thus describes the duke's entrance into Nantwich :—

"After Brandon comes the Duke alone and next behind him the E. of Maxfield and then the rest of the horse. The Duke rode in a Coach till hee came within a mile of the Towne (for he had 3 Coaches attending him, Offleys, Govers and Whitleys) and then for the greater state of the matter hee mounted upon an excellent Courser of ye E. of Maxfield. The Rabble saluted him on theyr knees and many strange Acclamations passed from theyr rude throats, though usuall in such Assemblyes. The Duke caressed them as hee roade along with kind expressions and

7 Letter from Rev. Matt. Fowler, dated Whitchurch, 11th Sept., 1682. He says he is a sickly old man, but had sent his nephew to report for him, who "will not fayle to give mee the best account hee can gett of the young gentle-"man's proceedings, who (I fear) came not hither barely upon the account of "a horse race."

courteous behaviour: The Streets were so thronged with this *Mobile Vulgus* that there was hardly any Passage for them, the windows and tops of houses crowded with such kind of spectators. The Minister and Churchwardens refused to have the Bells rung, but one of that Gang sodaynly whipt the key of the church out of the Sexton's hand and so in they went and the Bells trowled full merily all the time of his stay."

The following memorandum, misdated 3rd September, 1682, for 3rd October, 1682, refers to the proceedings here:—

"It is informed out of Cheshire y^{t} w^{n} ye D. of M. made his entry into Nantwich ye keyes of the Church were called for y^{t} ye bells might be rung at his Grace's entry but ye minister refused tho' hee was ye E. of Mackelsfields chaplaine, whereupon ye E. was in great passion. It is ffurther informed y^{t} ye Ld Brandon being on ye head of a number of horsmen disposed into ranks lyke a fformed Troope when hee came over against ye postmasters house (who is brother to ye minister) & ye postmaster lookeing out of his window or standing at his dore ye Ld Brandon drew out his pistoll and asked whether hee should not shoote whereunto ye D. of M. answered no, and bid him hould. It is ye king's pleasure y^{t} some fit cours bee taken to inquire into ye truth of this information and that Mr Secretary Jenkins take care thereof.

"3 of Sep. 82.

Endorsed—"A Quere to be putt to Leftwich Oldfield Esq. ab^{t} ye Postmaster of Nantw^{ch}."

An amusing anecdote of the duke at Nantwich is told in a letter from Sir Peter Shakerley, dated Chester Castle, 23rd September, 1682:—

"At Namptwich his Grace being on Horseback ready to come away for Chester, ye women of ye Town flocked about him soe y^{t} happy shee esteemed herself, who could but attain to kiss his Horse tayl, but an elderly woman had ye good luck to gett a kiss of his knee and looking up at him cry'd—'Ah pray God in heaven bless you, Sir; You are soe like y^{r} Father that I am sure you are not a Bastard.'"

The duke had dinner at the Crown Inn, Nantwich, where sixty ordinaries at half-a-crown, and one hundred and fifty at eighteen pence, had been bespoken against his coming; whilst later on, at Chester, the charge was five shillings.

After remaining at Nantwich about two hours, he proceeded to Chester, which he reached about six o'clock. He was accompanied by the Earl of Macclesfield; his eldest son, Lord Brandon; Lord Colchester, eldest son of Earl Rivers; Henry Booth, eldest son of Lord Delamere; Sir John Mainwaring, Colonel Whitley, and many others of the nobility and gentry of the county, and a great company of the citizens. He proceeded to the house of the mayor, George Mainwaring, Esq., in Watergate Street, where he remained during his visit to Chester. In the evening he was present at a public supper at the "Plume of Feathers" Inn, in Bridge Street, where five shillings a head was charged at the table where the duke sat, and two shillings and sixpence at the other tables.

Next morning, Sunday, September 10th, he had breakfast with the mayor, and he was accompanied to the morning service at the Cathedral by the Corporation and the Recorder, Mr. William Williams, ancestor of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bart. At this service it is stated[8] that one of the prebendaries tried to improve the occasion, "telling "him his duty and [about] disobedience, and "[about] Achitophel, Henry I of France, and that "God would blast all the wicked and mischievous "devices against the king, and make the memory "of their wicked names to stink in the grave." After service the duke dined at the "Plume of Feathers," and in the afternoon again attended service in the Cathedral.[9] That afternoon the daughter of the mayor was christened, and to her

8 Letters in the possession of G. E. Frere, Esq., Roydon Hall, Norfolk. (*Historical MSS. Commission Report*, vol. vii, p. 533.)

9 "'Twas much observed and discourst among ye Loyal Gentry at ye Forest "yt Dr. Fogg who preached in ye Afternoon before ye D. and company did "not pray for ye Queen and Duke of York."—*Letter from Chester, addressed "For Mr. O. Wynne, Whitehall."*

the duke stood godfather, giving her the name of Henrietta. The entry of this baptism is thus recorded in the register of Holy Trinity, Chester, the parish in which the Mayor was living.

"1682. Henrietta, daugh. of Geo. Mainwaring Esqr Maior of the Citty the 10th day of September, baptized."

As he went about the city, it is stated[10] that he had "a great deal of rabble always shouting and "throwing up their hats."

The following letter, dated Chester Castle, 11th September, 1682, gives Sir Peter Shakerley's (the newly appointed Governor of Chester Castle) account of the duke's "progress" up to his arrival at Chester:—

"Last Friday night there came to Namptwich ye Earl of Macclesfield with about a hundred horse wth many more dropping [in] after untill 9 in ye evening; after supper was over 'tis true ye King's health was named, but ye Company did disperse that one would have thought it did not well savor. Y^{e} protesting Earl went to his Lodgings, ye rest or most part to ye Tavern, where they drank soe long that they were near becoming honest, mistaking one Duke for ye other. All ye care was for making ready in ye morning which was don at ye command of Generall Gerrard. At 10 on Satturday morn ye Body appeared before ye Earl's Lodgings when hee readily received them and marched before them 3 miles out of Town where his Grace met them with severall of ye Gentry of Staffordshire, of whom Sir John Bowyer was one. His Grace came to Namptwich wth a Train, which (ye Rabble reckoned in) made up a great Body. Shoutings and throwing up of Hatts before him did soe employ ye multitude that not one word could be heard but Monmouth. His Grace dined . . . many pretended to wayt on ye Duke by ye Testimony of ye great Don, who avouched hee was allmost as near in ye King's Favour as ever.

"At Crislington (a mile and a half out of this Town) Sir Thomas Mainwaring and Coll. Whittley wth their coaches and six horses mett his Grace. The Coll. bowed soe low that some did affirm hee kissed his hand upon his knee but I write not that for certain. A great Rabble went from this place to meet ye Duke and to mount them for y^{t} purpose all ye country Butchers' horses (it being ye markett day) were hired. At Boughton a little

[10] Letter in the possession of Mr. Frere.

taylor of this Town mett ye Duke wth a Bottle of Sack, drank to ye Duke and tould him hee was in danger of being kill'd for offering to pledge his Grace's health, ye Duke took ye Bottle from ye fellow, pledged him and gave it to a Gentleman neer him. 4 or 5 of the Aldermen went out to meet ye Duke but ye Mayor only mett him at his door (being advised to doe soe ag^st^ his Inclination).

"At ye Entrance of ye Town Mr Henery Booth and Ld Brandon ushered his Grace, his Lordshipp waving his Hatt and incouraging ye Rabble to shout, wch they did plentifully, having had their throats well washed and prepared for it by som barrells of Beer wch Alderman Street had placed at Boughton for that purpose. His Grace lighted at Mr Mayor's, without any entertaynment in the Streets as hee passd except a few Bells, for ye great ones stirred not, ye shouts from the Rabble and ye favourable looks of ye Ladys. Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Collonell Whittley and Mr Hurlston brought up ye Reer of the Rabble in Sir Thomas Mainwaring's Coach and six horses, Coll. Whittley's Coach and six following empty.

"His Grace supped at ye Feathers in Bridge Street being attended thither by Mr Mayor, L^rd^ Macclesfield, and ye rest of those few Gentlemen who attended his Grace to Town. What passed at supper or after a Satturday night I cannot yet learn worthy y^r^ knowledge.

"Sunday his Grace came to ye Quire attended as overnight. L^rd^ Macclesfield, Sir Thomas Mainwaring, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Mr Offley and some strangers, seating themselves as near his Grace as they could. One of ye Petty Cannons preached ye Sermon, wch was well approved by all honest men.

"His Grace dined wth the Gentlemen afforesaid attending close at ye Feathers, where noe peeper could be admitted, hee came again to church after dinner, Macclesfield, Mainwaring, Booth and Whittley &c. seating themselves [as] near him as they could. Y^e^ sermon was preached by Dr Fogg one of ye Prebends now, but one who forsook ye Parsonage of Hardin on ye accompt of Nonconformity. In his Prayer afore Sermon hee omitted to pray for ye Queen and Duke of York, wch at other time hee has been accustomed to doe and onely prayed for ye King and Royall Family, not regarding ye 55th Cannon of our Church wch directs otherways.

A contemporary letter says :—

"The Mayor [of Chester] is very naught and the Citty rotten at the heart and at this time they have neither Bishop nor Deane among them to moderate their rashnes. If Chester Castle bee not yet in safe hands I wish it were."

On Monday morning, 11th September, Monmouth left Chester in the forenoon, and proceeded towards Wallasey, where the races were to take place next day. Of these races, and those in Delamere Forest, the Rev. Matthew Fowler writes from Whitchurch, 11th September:—

"Tomorrow being the Race-day there will bee a meeting of the Loyall gentry of Cheshire and these adjacent parts of the county of Salop upon the Forrest of Delamere about 8 miles distant from Wallacy. They meet under colour of Hunting and Race matches, but ye designe is to bee in readines to prevent any ill attempts; God Almighty give them wisdome and sobriety, that they manage their meetings to the advantage of his Majesty. They will have their spies upon the Racers of Wallacy from whom I am promised the best account they can gett. But I lately heard that the D. intends to putt of Wallacy Race till Thursday and to come and Hunt with the Gentlemen at the Forrest. If so God keep them from quarrells, for though the Gent. know how to behave themselves to a Person of his High Quality, yet I am sure they love not his company under his present circumstances. And since it is too late to wish he had not come amongst us, wee heartily wish we were well freed from him."

On the evening of the 11th, the duke stayed at Peel Hall, in Bromborough,[11] belonging to Colonel Whitley, and next day took part in the horse-race on the Wallasey race-course. Here he was fortunate enough to win the stake, value sixty guineas, riding his own horse; much to the grief of his Tory enemies. "The Duke having won the plate, and "two foot races, of about 12 score, which he ran in "person with a gentleman, first stript, and after in "his boots, with the same gentleman, and beat him "both times, he desired the Rabble to leave off their "shouting."[12] He immediately sent the prize to the

[11] Possibly the Court House at Bromborough, which is old and moated.—EDITOR. Another contemporary letter says that he lodged on Monday night at a parson's house at Wallasey.

[12] Letter from the Rev. M. Fowler, 18 Sept., 1682, based upon information supplied to him by "the son of Sr Geoffrey Shakerley and the brother of "Mr Tho. Cholmondeley of Vale Royall, two Cheshire Gentlemen who are "truely Loyall, but I beseech you let their names be concealed."

Mayor of Chester, as a gift to his godchild Henrietta. That evening, when this became known in Chester, as is stated in a contemporary letter from there, "the people here grew so mad that "all the streets were full of bonfire, the church "doors were broken open to ring the bells, contrary "to the Dean and the minister's orders, and "nothing was heard in the streets but 'A Mun-"'mouth, A Munmouth!'" [13]

In another letter (not signed) dated Chester, Sept. 18, 1682, there is an account of the riots in Chester, &c. "That at the bonfire the rabble "shouted, 'Let Monmouth reigne, let Monmouth "'reigne,' ye whole song I cannot yet p'cure." On Wednesday, at night, "ye Duke's running horse "with another of Col. Whitley's son's walked "through the streets. . . The rabble took yt for "an occasion to make Bonfires again, where was "some disorder."

From a Memorandum, dated Chester, 16 Sept., [1682] we learn that—

"There were two Races at Walasea for plates, ye first on Tuesday of 60^li for wch ran ye D. of Monmouth (who got it) next him young Whitley and Henry Booth on Bold's horse, last Bellingham. Then a made match betwixt Hen. Booth (who wonn) and Bannister. On Wednesday a plate of 30^li won by Hen. Booth; the rest were L^d of Derby, Lord Molineux's son and Bellingham. Then a footrace for a guinny 20 roods betwixt D. of Monmouth (who wonn) and Mr Cutts of Cambridgeshire. Kit Bannister (who is very infirme) had set up a high seate in ye Course, which was in ye night sawed down. The Duke blamed the action, but his followers pleaded ignorance of it. Young Shakerley was much blamed for dining with the Duke especially by Sr John Corbet of Salop. D. M. offered to lay 1000^li of his horse but nobody would take him. He sayd if the King had forbad this journey he would not have come, he talked and dranke little, no healths but the King's and his Entertainers'.

After the racing was over, the duke crossed over to Liverpool, with all his company. He retired to

[13] Letter in the possession of Mr. Frere.

rest about ten o'clock, staying at the house of Alderman Chorley.[14] Next morning, Wednesday, his Grace, after having been made a freeman of the town,[15] again attended the races at Wallasey, and in the afternoon left for Rock Savage, in Frodsham parish, the seat of Earl Rivers, where he stayed that night.

The following is a full copy of the letter sent by Sir Peter Shakerley to Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State. It is now preserved amongst the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office, London. It describes in considerable detail the duke's visit to Wallasey and Liverpool, and is a very interesting document, here given for the first time.

"Chester Castle,
"Septemb^r ye 16th 1682.

"Right Honourable,

"Munday last afternoon his Grace came to Wallesy, accompanyd wth most of those Gentlemen who came with him to Chester from Namptwitch, vieued ye cours over, soe went to supper. I went as an attendent amongst 'em, but by those of this County was soon distinguished to be none of ye Heard. Mr Booth singled mee out from 'em, held mee for some time in a frivolous discours apart with intent to shamm mee off; that devise fayling I went to supp at ye ordinary with his Grace; but Mr Thomas Wittley, Mr Fitton Garrard and others came out, sayd there was noe room at that table soe wee supp'd in annother room. The Duke of Munmouth's health was ye first named by them; after that the king's; supper ended, Sir John Corbett, Mr John Mainwaring, Mr Stofford, one Thomson (as they called him) and others came in, wth a plain designe to dispute and quarell [with] mee, but I before hand resolved to take all things patiently, except blows. After some of their accustomed healths, such as confusion to popery and to all those that would not be enemies to ye Duke of York, they begunn to manifest their great dislike of ye sermon preached before his Grace in this Quire; and in general exclaimed ag^st ye clergy.

[14] In Chorley Court, at the bottom of Dale Street, built by Alderman John Chorley, who was Mayor of Liverpool in 1678.—EDITOR.

[15] Of which there is no record in the Council Minute Book, there being no entries therein between 10th July and 18th October, 1682.—EDITOR.

Haveing spitt their venom that way without ye sattisfaction of one sillable from mee, they fall to magnify ye last parliam^t^ at Westminster and to commend their votes. I presumed to ask them what their opinions was of that vote, wch would not that ye king should rais any money of his own revenue by anticipation; Mr Fitton Gerrard, Mr Thomas Whittley, and Mr John Mainwaring asserted that it was an excellent good vote; and Mr Thomson affirmed that hee was a traytor that should lend ye king any money ye Parliament not sitting. From that discours they went to ye Bill of Exclusion. I made bould to tell them they troubled themselves to noe purpose wth that, His Majesty haveing declared to ye Commons that he would not pass it.

"Mr Fitton Gerrard and Mr John Mainwaring replyed that the king was good natured and might yet notwithstanding be prevailed wth to pass it, nay a Friend of mine did affirm to mee that he heard L^rd^ Brandon say the king *must* and *would* part with his brother. The meeting of a great many gentlemen at ye Forrest that day ye Race was at Wallesy caused some further discours to these Gentlemen, who sayd 'twas verry unmannerly to appoint such a meeting at that time when they should have payd their respects to the king's son, and Mr Fitton Gerrard sayd hee was a Peer of the Realm, and not soe much out of ye king's favour as was reported, wittness says hee, y^e^ £4000 per ann. settled upon son ye Lord Doncaster; and his Majesty's intention of confering ye Garter upon him, and that his Majesty would not take it well from those who did not show respect unto him.

"Tuesday his Grace ridd for and woun ye 12 stone plate, as his Grace went up ye Cours to ride, Mr Henry Booth who ridd Mr Bould's horse was observed to ride up, to bow, and say something to him, upon which his Grace embraced him verry kindly. Lord Derby (who about a fortnight or 3 weeks before ye Race came to Wallesey wth Lord Brandon, to order a tent and provision to entertain his Grace) came not to Wallesey till that day after dinner; I observed hee did not go to his Grace, but his Grace ridd up to him and they only civilly saluted each other. That day's sport being ended his Grace and all his Company went over ye water to Leverpool, ye Bells were then out of order soe stirred not, some few little guns (musquetts som think) from som shipps and shouts from ye Rabble wch was great, welcom'd his Grace's arrival to Town. When come to his Inn ye Mayor and 5 of ye Alldermen wayted on him, and give him [an] invitation to ye Change, but he went not, some think because ye invitation was not consented to by ye whole Body, however he yielded to be made Free of ye Town, and then the Bells rung. Y^e^ rabble had gotton som musquetts and gave his Grace some

vollies; Mr Nathaniel Booth was seen by a friend of myne to give one of them money to buy powder for that purpose.

"His Grace supp'd with Macclesfield, Brandon, Colchester, and at an ordinary; but great care was taken that nothing of a Tory, or any that was not well known to be of their party should come near them. A friend of mine attempted it, but means was found to prevent his coming amongst 'em, soe what passed then I know not. About 10 o'clock his Grace went to his Lodgeing wch was at Allderman Chorley's House, ye rest of ye company went some to drinking, som to Gameing. Lord Derby lodged at a private house, and 'twas say'd hee was wth his Grace till 3 o'clock in the morning. I went purposly over ye water to enquire the Truth, and was assured by one whom I take to be an honest gentleman and who was wth his Lordship till 3 o'clock, that Lrd Brandon, Lrd Colchester and 2 or 3 more came and stayed a little time with his Lordship, but his Lordship was not in Company wth his Grace whilest hee stayed in Liverpool, neither did he com nor goe whence wth his Grace to Wallesey, wch I heard has disgusted some Persons.

"Wednesday his Grace came to Wallasy again, wth ye Company that went with him to Liverpool; onely Macclesfield went off homwards thence; his Grace stayed ye heats for ye 2nd plate wch Mr Booth wonn; and then went immediately away crossd ye Water at Liverpool soe to Rock-savage that night. Lord Brandon, Whittley, Mr John Mainwaring and others of ye party accompanying him. Mr Booth haveing another Race wth Lord Derby that day did not goe with his Grace, but went that night wth his Uncle Mr Nathaniel Booth to Warington, in order to meet his Grace on Thursday, who was then expected at Dunham, where hee was to stay that night, Friday, to dine wth Mr Booth at Mear, and that night to lodge at Lrd Macclesfield's house at Gosworth, where this day a great many gentlemen are invited to a dinner. A friend of mine has promised mee an accompt of passages and discoveries there, what hee sends mee shall be faithfully communicated.

"The enclosed is a list of all those Gentlemen whom I observed to wayt on his Grace.[16] I very well know the principals of some of them to be destructive of Monarchy, and doe heartily pitty the misfortune of his Grace to be thus misguided by them. I am certain they designe him noe good, for there's not one man of 'em that will in ye least assert his legitimacey. I hope h'eal hearken to ye advise of som friend ere long, wch would presently stagger ye hopes of and shake ye faction to pieces. There were

[16] This list is not now with the letter, and so could not be copied. It may possibly be found on further searching amongst the State Papers.

some few Roman Catholicks from Staffordshire, Lancashire, and this County: I think ye whole of any noat might be about 10 or 12.

"I am
"Y^r^ most obedient humb. Servant
"PETER SHAKERLEY."

On the Thursday the duke left Rock Savage, and proceeded right across Cheshire to Dunham Massey, the seat of Lord Delamere, afterwards Earl of Warrington. He stayed there that night, and on Friday, September 15th, he had dinner at Mr. Henry Booth's, at Mere Hall, near Knutsford, and came that evening to Gawsworth, the seat of the Earl of Macclesfield,[17] about three miles from Macclesfield and four from Congleton. Here he remained till the following Monday, and an account of what took place there will subsequently be given.

The rioting at Chester seems to have been very great. In Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, vol. i, p. 248, the following account of it, taken from the Cowper MSS., is given, but by some strange mistake it is given under date of August, 1683, instead of September, 1682; and it is said that the horse-races at Wallasey were on Thursday, the 25th of that month.

"The mob pelted with stones the windows of several gentlemen's houses in the city, and otherwise damaged the same. They likewise furiously forced the doors of the Cathedral, and destroyed most of the painted glass, burst open the little vestrys and cupboards, wherein were the surplices and hoods belonging to the clergy, which they rent to rags, and carried away. They beat to pieces the baptismal font, pulled down some monuments, attempted to demolish the organ, and committed other most enormous outrages."

[17] "I doubt hee will receive no good advice from that ungratefull Malcon-"tent, who useth to ride abroad in a warlike posture with 16 or 20 men at "his heels armed with sword and pistoll which I conceive is more than "becomes a subject in time of Peace."—*Letter from Rev. Matthew Fowler, dated 18th September, 1682.*

Another account of this riot, together with further details of the duke's visits, is contained in the following letter, taken from the Domestic State Papers in the Public Record Office, London. It is written by the Rev. Matthew Fowler to the Secretary of State, as follows :—

[September 16th, 1682.]

"Rt. Honoble

"I am sorry that I can give you but a slender intellegence of what hath passed heer lately amongst us, the summ of all I can write is this ; that a Person of quality (none of ye wisest) came to be gazed on by a foolish Rabble of no quality. Be pleased to take the particulars which my own and my friends observation could gayn together. I suppose you have received my letter to you inclosed in one to Dr Bell which gave you an account of the pageantry acted at Namptwich.

"There came with him out of Staffordshire besides Gower, Offley, and Sir Thomas Armstrong (that attended him from London), Sr John Bowyer. The Duke came to Namptwich on Saturday, where hee was mett by these Cheshire Gent : Viz. Maxfeild and Brandon his son, Sr Robert Cotton, deputy Leiutenant (note that) and Justice of the Peace and his eldest son Sr Willoughby, Deputy Leiu : Mr Henry Booth (son of Ld Delamere Just of Peace and Custos Rotm Mr Jo. Maynwaring, son of Sr Thomas Maynwaring of Peever, Sir Tho : Bellott, Mr Tho : Whitley (These four last being bravely mounted and richly caparisoned) Mr Lawton and his son, Mr Roger Maynwaring of Calingham [Caringham], these were all Cheshire men. Out of Shropshire came to see this Raree-Shew Sir Jo. Corbett of Adderley, young Mr Forster of Dotaye (some say Mr Richard Newport but I dare not be positive) and Sir Richard Corbett of Longnor, Baronet. Four coaches attended the D. viz. Maxfeild's, Gower's, Offley's, and Sr Robert Cotton's.

"The Rabble broke the windows of Namptwich Church (being denyed by the officers the liberty of the bells), into which they made a forcible entry and rang at theyr pleasure. They made great shoutings, being sett on by Booth and Brandon. The Duke stay'd there about an hour and a half, and so for Chester where he was mett by Lord Colchester, St Thomas Maynwaring in his Coach, Sir John Crew, of Utkington, Mr Natt : Booth Just : of ye Peace and Deputy Leiut : Mr Bryan [Bruen] of Stapleford, Mr Lea of Darnhill, Mr Geo : Booth, son of Sir Jo. Booth, Protonotary of Chester, Mr Hurlston of Picton and his son, Alderman Street.

"The Mayor came to the Barrs to attend him, but never an alderman accompanyed him save onely Street. The mobile was very numerous and theyr brawling hosannas very loud. Demetrius and his craftsmen could not [have] made a louder shout for Diana then these did for Monmouth. Young Brandon was the chief engineer to sett that great machine on work. The Dean sent for the keys of the churches, but the Rabble broke into St. John's Church on Saturday through the Windows and rang the Bells.

"The D. M. lay at the Mayor's house on Saturday night, was Godfather to his daughter, to whom he gave a Princley name, Henrietta, to whom also it is sayd hee gave the Plate which hee wonn at Wallacey. On Wednesday at 2 in the morning a letter was brought to Sir Phil Egerton and Sr Robert Leicester two deputy Leiutenants of that County which signified that upon ye news of the Duke's winning the race at Wallacey, some of the rabble got together, broke the windows of St. Peter Church, and rang the fire bell (never used but to signify to ye inhabitants the danger they are in by reason of some fire). It is supposed they did it to draw their companions together, and being increased to ye number of 500, they went from thence and made a bonfire over against the house of Mr Matthew Anderton, one of His Majesty's Officers of the Customs, they broke his windows and threw 3 or 400 stons into his house, and the windows of divers other persons were broken at the same time. They continued the Riott till 2 in the morning; two and twenty of them are known and seaven or eight already taken.

"The D. lay at Wallacy on Monday night, his attendence hourely lessening, and dined there on Tuesday; the Earl of Darby dined with him. On Tuesday night the Earl of Darby lay in Liverpool at Dr Richmond's house.[18] The D. lay at an Alderman's house in Liverpool whose name is not remembered. Wednesday morning went back to Wallacey, the D. stayd behind to receive the curtesey of the Town, viz. the Freedom of it and a banquett and then was conducted with great ceremony by the Mayor and his bretheren to the water side.

"Hee lay at Rock-Savage on Wednesday night, and it is believed hee lay at Dunham Massey (L^rd^ Delamer's house) on Thursday night, and dined yesterday at Mr Henry Booth's house

[18] "Where the Duke would have laid, but the Doctor excused himself on "account of the smallness of his house."—*Letter from Rev. Matthew Fowler, dated 18th September, 1682.*

Sylvester Richmond, M.D., was a Justice of the Peace for the Borough, from which office he was discharged by a vote of the full Council, on the 12th September, 1687, in obedience to an Order by the King in Council, dated at Windsor, 14th August, in the same year.—*Liverpool Corporation Minutes*, vol. iv, p. 469.—EDITOR.

at the Meer (Hee is eldest son to the Lord Delamere and Custos Rot :) and from thence he is for Goseworth (the house of Earl of Maxfeild) where 'tis sayd hee will stay till Monday and so back to Madely and Trentham.

"The Loyal Gentry of Cheshire had a very splendid meeting at the Forrest of Delamere, they were besides footmen and spectators, about sixscore gentlemen well attended, wch made up the number of 500 horse, they pursued theyr game very quietly, dined together upon the Forrest, and so very civilly parted.

"Sr I have given you the best intellegence I can get of this doughty affair. If I have fayled in anything I hope you will pardon me who being aged and infirme am fayne to see and heare with the eyes and eares of others. I have sufficiently tried you, and therefore take leave to subscribe myselfe

"(R Honoble)

"Yor most humble and faithfl servant

"Sept. 16, 1682. "M. FOWLER.

Endorsed—"For the Rt. Honl Sir L. Jenkins, &c., Whitehall."

A letter from Liverpool, signed by Dr. Richmond, and dated 19th August, 1682, in answer to certain queries which had been sent him, is as follows :—

"To ye first question what company there was at Wallesey I answer There is usually at yt course the Earle of Derby wth ye most of ye principal Gentry of Lancashire and Cheshire except some of ym sometime diverted from thence by their other occasions. But I must add yt ye last weeke there was greater number of people yn ordinarily appear there most of ye countrymen and women who supposed to come thither wth a desire to have a view of the Duke of Monmouth. Lord Brandon sent a letter to one Mrs Atherton who keeps a taverne in ye towne[19] to bid her prepare a dinner for about forty gentlemen to bee sat upon ye running ground. There was no riot or disturbance at the meeting on the course at Wallasey. The Duke lodged one night in this towne at a private house and ye Earle of Derby ye same night at mine, so that there was no intercourse of visits in this towne between ym."

Another letter, dated 23rd September, 1682, but not signed, states that—

"The Duke lodged on Wednesday night not at Sr Willoughby Aston's but at Rock Savage where Ld Colchester entertained

[19] A letter from Mr. Vernon, of Liverpool, dated 20th September, 1682, gives the name of the house as "The Tower."

him, whence on the Thursday (as I told you) he went to Dunham where there passt something remarkable, more than in my last I could acquaint you with, wch is that as ye Duke sate at meate, ye doors were sett open and ye rabble not onely suffered to gaze into ye roome, but permitted to come in and view ye Duke wch they more comodiously did, by entering at one doore and going out at another and soe ye Mobile passed and repassed, ye g^{t}est part of dinner time."

The same writer, speaking of the duke at Mere and Knutsford, writes :—

"Thence hee went, as my former told you, on the Friday to dine wth Mr Henry Boothe, ye L. de la Meers sonn, where now I am certainly informed there dined 41 at ye best table, whereof 10 or thereabout were women, and that there was likewise liberty given to such a proporcon of ye rout, as ye capacity of ye place would reasonably admitt, to come into ye roome and walke and stand round about ye table, whilst ye rest without doors shouted a Munmouth, a Munmouth. After diner ye Duke danced and that day Mr Booth's servants wore ye Dukes colors in y^{r} cravatts. The entertainment being over (but not ye whoopings of ye people) hee departed thence for Gawsworth."

"As he pass't thro' Knotsford, ye streets were strewed with sand and flowers (to make his Grace's station more pleasant whilst he rec^{d} a treat from one Harrison a feltmaker) and as he rode along ye way, which way was for ye most part lined wth g^{t} numbers of ye people, some were sent before to instruct them how to know him, and ye gentlemen y^{t} rode along wth him frequently called upon them to shout, in which they were forward eno' to gratify them."

After describing the sports at Gawsworth as before, the writer adds :—

"Yet notwithstanding ye frequency of riotts and ye greatness of them on ye other side of ye county, there was not, that I can heare of soe much as a single breach of ye peace amongst them on this [side]. The Earle of Macc^{ls} invited a considerable number of his neighbors and tenants to waite on ye D. on Munday last (ye day y^{t} hee left this country) as far as Congleton where ye D. and his friends rec^{d} an entertainment from ye Mayor of ye Town and likewise ye complem^{t} of having ye streets strewed with sand for his passage as before at Knotsford. Thence he went away to diner to Madely-Manor as in my last. It was observed that ye greatest part of ye Gentlemen of ye Countrey, who made it their businesse to attend him, while at Gawsworth, did not onely ride with sword and pistolls themselves, tho many of them were

not sent for to doe, but were attended by more servants than theire accustomed number, wch were all accoutered as well as their masters."

"On Sunday he went both ends of ye day to Gawsworth Church where Mr Marsden of Walton in Lancashire preach'd yt Day, being sent for on purpose (as I since understand) by ye Earle of Maxfield. The D—s entertainment there by ye description I had of some yt were prsent was very splendid and great."

Of the way the duke was entertained at Gawsworth there is a good deal of interesting information obtained from the private papers of the Leghs, at Lyme Hall, the seat of the present Lord Newton, which I have had an opportunity of transcribing. The first document is the private and confidential letter dated "Whitehall, London, "Friday, Sept. 15, 1682" (the very day the duke arrived at Gawsworth), written by Sir Lionel Jenkins, Principal Secretary of State, and addressed to "Richard Legh Esq. at Lyme, one of his "Mats Justices of ye Peace for ye County Palatine "of Chester." This very interesting letter is as follows:—

"Whitehall, Friday, 15th Sept., 82.

"Sr

"His Maiestie reflecting upon the Duke of Monmouth's journey into Cheshire, and judging it to be of very ill consequence to ye publick Peace and Tranquillity that ye Nation now Enjoys (by God's blessing) under the King and ye Lawes, hath comanded me to apply myselfe to you, as one of his Maties Justices of the Peace for his County Palatine of Chester, and to pray and require you to make diligent Enquiry and a true returne upon the Oath of Credible Wittnesses to these questions following:

"1. Where, and at whose charges the Duke of Monmouth dined and supped on Monday last [11th Sept.]?

"2. Where he dined on Tuesday [12th Sept.] and Wednesday [13th Sept.] following, and what was observed or did otherwise occurre in that space?

"3. What Arts were used at ye severall places he passed through to draw ye Rabble together, and who were the Authors and Abettors of it?

"4. Whether any riott or breach of the Peace was committed in any of the severall places, through which the Duke of Monmouth passed?

"Sr these questions His Maiesty desires to be satisfied in, as also in any other Occurrences of the like Nature, and he is graciously pleased to depend upon your affection and fidelity to Him, in letting him know everything that is come to your knowledge, especially in your Own Neighbourhood, to the end he may make that use of these Notices as may be most for the preserving of the Peace and for ye satisfaction of his loving and dutyfull Subjects, such as you are. For my part I promise you that I will be both faithfull and secret in laying before his Maiestie the returne that you shall make to me by this Bearer, who is one of his Maties Messengers and whom I do send to wayt on you expresse upon this Occasion.

"I am
"Sr
"Your most humble
"Faithfull Servant
"L. JENKINS.

As a result of this letter, which could not have reached him before the 18th, Mr. Legh caused an enquiry to be held at once, on the 20th September, before himself and two other justices—Sir John Ardern, Knight, and Edward Warren, of Poynton, Esq.—when the following evidence of what happened at Gawsworth was taken upon oath. No information appears to have been given as to where the duke had stayed before he came to Gawsworth. These depositions are as follows:—

"Examinacons taken before us Sr John Ardern Knight, Richard Legh of Lime Esqr and Edward Warren of Poynton Esqr, three of his Maties Justices of the peace for ye County of Chester, 20th Septr 1682.

"Edward Sherman of Gawsworth in ye County of Chester, Innkeeper, aged about forty and nine yeares, sworn and examined saith

"That upon Friday ye 15th of September instant ye Duke of Monmouth came attended wth a considerable number of gentlemen and others to ye Earle of Macclesfield's house at Gawsworth and that ye company that attended ye Duke as they passed by ye house of ye sd deponent, called upon ye rabble to shout. That upon Saturday ye 16th instant there was a Buck-hunting in ye sd Earles Parke, that ye same day and ye day following [Sunday] there was at ye house of ye sd Earle a great feast and banquett and that ye sd deponent did receive some sweetmeats from one

Mrs Wainewright, who told him yt ye sd Earle did distribute of ye banquett to ye people that were there flockt together with his owne hand, and ye sd deponent doth further believe yt ye sd feast and banquett was made at ye proper cost and charges of ye sd Earle of Macclesfield, excepting only such presents as were sent in by ye neighbourhood.

"Moreover that upon ye sd Saturday there was upon a plaine neare to ye sd Earles house a game called a Prison-barr-play, performed by 20 young men and that ye sd Earles Steward, John Broadhurst, did desire ye sd deponent to procure some of ye said young men to play and told him yt it was his Lords desire to them and that hee would give them a Guinny to make ye Duke that sport. That after ye Play was over ye sd young men came to ye house of ye sd deponent and some of them said in his hearing that ye Duke of Monmouth had given them five Guinnys and desired him to change them one for silver wch hee accordingly did. And likewise one Browne who beate a Drume at ye sd play desired ye sd deponent to change him a Guinny and said that it was given to ye Drumers by ye Duke. And ye sd deponent further saith that he saw ye People that came to see these sports and doth beleive that the number of them was at least 4000. And yt ye sd Earle of Macclesfield did by his servants desire ye greatest part of ye housholders in ye neighbourhood to wait upon ye sd Duke on Munday ye 18th onward on his jorney as farr as Congleton, wch is 4 miles on ye way. And that ye sd Duke did on ye sd Munday goe away from Gawsworth attended wth many gentlemen and such of ye neighbourhood as were desired to goe as aforesaid. And that some of ye sd Company upon theire returne from waiting upon ye Duke, called at ye house of this deponent (viz.) John Hollinshead, Alderman of Macclesfield, and Thomas Hodson, of Sutton, button-man, both in ye sd county of Chester, and that they in ye hearing of this deponent said that it was in ye power of ye people to choose their king. And ye sd deponent further saith that during ye time that ye Duke of Monmouth was at Gawsworth aforesaid, hee heard many of ye rabble say that they would have noe papist to inherit ye crowne and that they would venture their lives for the Duke of Monmouth.

"The sd deponent likewise saith that ye sd Earle of Macclesfield hath or lately had great quantitys of armes and ammunition in his house (viz.) Musketts, blunderbusses, carbines, pistolls, bulletts and kettle-drums, and has at this time in his family two kettle-drummers and further saith that ye Duke of Monmouth's trumpetter told him that one of them has 5s pay per diem. And this deponent likewise saith that hee lately heard one of ye sd Earles servants drinke a health to ye King and all his Enimies,

and at another time heard John Broadhurst, steward to ye s^{d} Earle, say that ye King had never a Gentleman but one of his Privy Counsell. And further saith not.

(Signed) "EDWARD SHARMAN.

"The Examinacon of Samuell Proudlove, of Macclesfield, in ye county of Chester, twister, taken before us Sr John Ardern, K^{t}, Richard Legh, of Lime, and Edward Warren, of Poynton, Esq^{rs}, three of his Maties Justices of ye Peace for ye County of Chester Sept 20th 1682.

"Samuel Proudlove of Macclesfield aforesaid aged about twenty eight yeares sworn and examined saith:

"That upon Thursday ye fourteenth of September instant John Broadhurst steward to ye Earle of Macclesfield came to this deponent and another young man, one Christopher Heapes, of Macclesfield, aforesaid, and desired them to bring some other young men to ye number of tenn to Gawsworth to play a game at Prison-barrs wth others that should meet them there on ye Saturday following, to recreate ye Duke of Monmouth, who would then bee there, and promised them that his Lord, ye s^{d} Earle of Macclesfield, would give them a piece of plate to play for. That they promised him that they would, and on Saturday ye 16th they went accordingly and play'd, where ye s^{d} Duke came to see them and gave them five Guinnys, by the hands of ye Lord Brandon, sonn to ye s^{d} Earle, wch was received by ye deponent, who likewise saith that another Guinny was given to two drummers that beat there, by ye hands of ye Ld Brandon afores^{d}. This deponent further saith that there was a very great concourse of people and that when ye Duke came into ye field to see ye sport there seemed to bee great satisfaction to ye crowd in his presence wch ye multitude expresst by shoutings. And further this deponent saith not.

"The marke of
"SAMUEL × PROUDLOVE.

"Taken before us the day and year aforesaid.

(Signed) "J. ARDERNE.
"R. LEGH.
"EDWARD WARREN."

On Monday, the 18th September, the duke left Gawsworth, as already described, accompanied as far as Congleton by a large concourse of people. From there he appears to have gone to Trentham Hall, and thence to Newcastle. Of this part of the "progress" we read:—

. . . "In his way to Trentam he rid thro' Congleton and Newcastle both Corporation Towns where he was received after ye usuall manner. I was told they stro'd ye streets at Congleton wth sand. At Newcastle his Reception there was above any other place I yet heerd of, for there the Gentry and yong freemen of ye Towne all went a horseback out of Towne to meet him and ye Mayor and Aldermen and ye rest of ye Towne rec^d him at ye Townsend on foot, the Bells rung all night, and many bonfires were made but I do not much wonder at it for y^t Town hath ever bin Seditious and there is small hopes of an amendm^t."

On Wednesday, the 20th September, the duke was in the town of Stafford, and was dining there in a mercer's house, with many persons of rank and gentlemen belonging to Staffordshire and the adjacent counties, when John Ramsey, Esq., one of the king's sergeants-at-arms, arrived, soon after the dinner hour, and being admitted to his Grace, arrested him as his prisoner on the following warrant, which he showed to him. This was signed by the Principal Secretary of State, Sir Lionel Jenkins, and was as follows:—

"Whereas his Majesty hath received information that James Duke of Monmouth hath lately appeared in several parts of this kingdom with great numbers of people, in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the disturbance of the public peace, and to the terrour of his Majesties good subjects: these are therefore, in his Majesty's name and by his special command, to will and require you forthwith to repair to any place where you shall understand the said Duke of Monmouth to be and him forthwith to apprehend and bring in safe custody before me, or any of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, to answer to such things as on his Majesties behalf shall be objected to him the said Duke of Monmouth; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And all mayors, sheriffs, constables, and all others his Majesties officers are hereby required to be herein aiding and assisting to you, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

"To John Ramsey Esq.,
"one of His Majesty's Serjeants at Arms."

The duke travelled that evening in custody as far as Coleshill, thence to Coventry and St. Albans,

and on the 23rd September reached London, where he was taken before Sir Lionel Jenkins.

Thus ended, in a somewhat ignominious manner, this "second progress," which the Earl of Shaftesbury looked upon as "the last of the opportunities "which God had put into the Duke of Monmouth's "power to save England and to make himself the "greatest man in Europe."

ON TWO ANCIENT BOATS, FOUND NEAR WARRINGTON.

By Charles Madeley.

Read 13th December, 1894.

THE construction of the Manchester Ship Canal has been, in one respect, a great disappointment to those who dwell upon its banks. It was only natural to expect that the excavation of so great a cutting for thirty-six miles, through the soil of the Mersey valley, could not fail to result in large discoveries of relics of the former inhabitants of the district, and numerous additions to the contents of our museums. But these anticipations were speedily relinquished on the advent of the steam navvy, whose rapid evolutions and wholesale manner of procedure obviously offered little prospect of the preservation of any but the largest objects which might be in its way. Of such large objects, however, two very interesting examples were the two canoes which were found, not in the course of the canal itself, but on the banks of the Mersey, during certain subsidiary operations at Arpley, in the township of Warrington. The position of the site is shown in Mr. Owen's plan, which is based on the Ordnance Survey.

The subsoil thereabouts is alluvium, overlying a very variable thickness of drift, which again overlies the Upper Bunter sandstone. The River Mersey, in its meanderings through the level land, here impinges upon the rising ground which bounds

its valley on the south, or Cheshire side. The site of the Roman station of Veratinum, at Wilderspool, lies about 300 yards distant, to the south-east. On the north, or Lancashire side, lie Arpley Fields, a level stretch of meadow land, a square mile in area, bounded on the east, west, and south by the river, which here makes a curve of three parts of a circle, and on the north by the gentle rise upon which Warrington stands. These meadows are not yet entirely above the influence of high-water spring tides.

Early in September, 1893, during the completion of the new course for the Mersey which was cut across the Arpley meadows, the dredger came upon an obstruction, which proved to be a dug-out canoe, over ten feet in length. Later, on the 28th March, 1894, another and larger canoe was discovered, at a point 600 yards further east and close to the west end of the present Walton Lock.

Each canoe lay 20 to 25 yards north of the former bank of the River Mersey, and at a depth of about eighteen feet below the surface of the ground. On their discovery both canoes were carefully removed and preserved, under the direction of Mr. William Burch, C.E., the Ship Canal Co.'s engineer for this section, and Mr. H. Davenport, who was in charge of the dredging operations when the first discovery was made. The canoes were eventually presented by the Canal Company to the Warrington Museum.

A previous discovery of the same kind had been made in 1889, at Barton-on-Irwell, when a canoe was found some 27 feet below the surface, at a point 400 feet from the river-bank.[1] It is now in the Owens College Museum. We shall have occasion to refer to this canoe again.

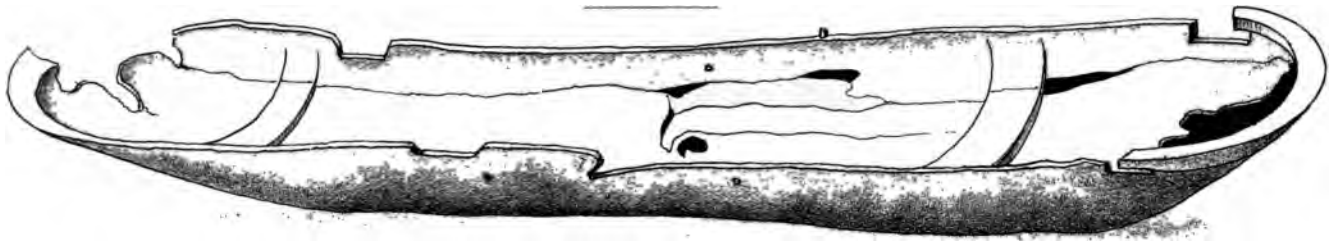
[1] Described and figured by Sir W. H. Bailey, in *Memoirs of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, 1889, fourth series, vol. ii, p. 243.

Measured Drawing of an Ancient Canoe.

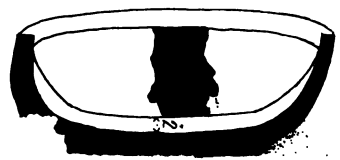
Dug up during excavations, in Irlpley Fields, for Ship Canal Docks.

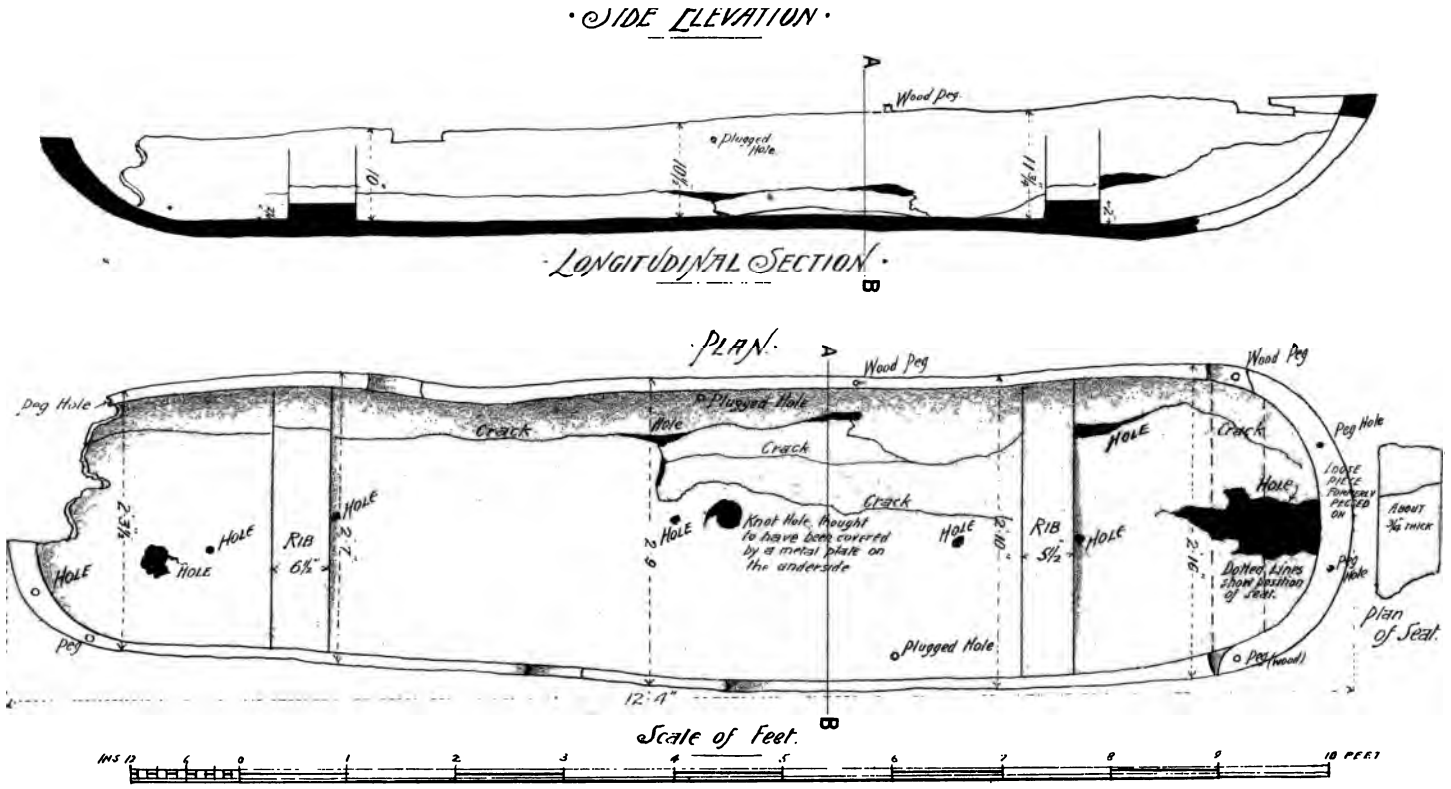
29th March 1894.

Sketch View.



Cross Section A--B





Measured by WILLIAM OWEN F.R.I.B.A.
Local Sec^y Historic Society of Lanc^s & Cheshire.
3rd April 1894 WARRINGTON

Taking first, for convenience, the larger canoe: its dimensions, according to the measurements made by Mr. Owen, a few days after its discovery, are as follows:—The length over all is 12 feet 4 inches; the greatest width, near the stern, is 2 feet 10 inches, which is maintained until the middle of the length is reached, whence the width diminishes to 2 feet 3½ inches near the round of the bow. The depth likewise decreases from about 15 inches near the stern to 12 inches near the bow. The thickness of the timber is about 2¼ inches at the bottom, diminishing to about 1¼ inches on the gunwale. In cross section the bottom outside is fairly flat, but inside it is rounded with a regular curve. Lengthwise the bottom has probably been level, although now somewhat irregular.

Two internal ribs have been left in hollowing the log, each about six inches wide by two inches thick at the floor, and dying into the sides before they reach the gunwale. They are placed approximately at one-fourth the length of the canoe from stem and stern respectively. The ends of the boat are rounded, inside and out, both in plan and section, but whether or not there was a projecting nose, like that on the smaller canoe, described below, we cannot say, as when the boat was found just that part was wanting at each end of it.

At each end there has been fixed upon the gunwale, which is here some three inches wide, a timber waling. The stern piece remains, and is crescent-shaped, four inches wide by three inches deep at the centre. It was planted upon the boat's edge, and fastened down with four trenails, an inch in diameter, portions of which still remain in their holes. The former existence of a similar waling at the bow is evidenced by three peg-holes, but no remains of the waling itself were found. As the grain of the timber in the waling-piece follows the

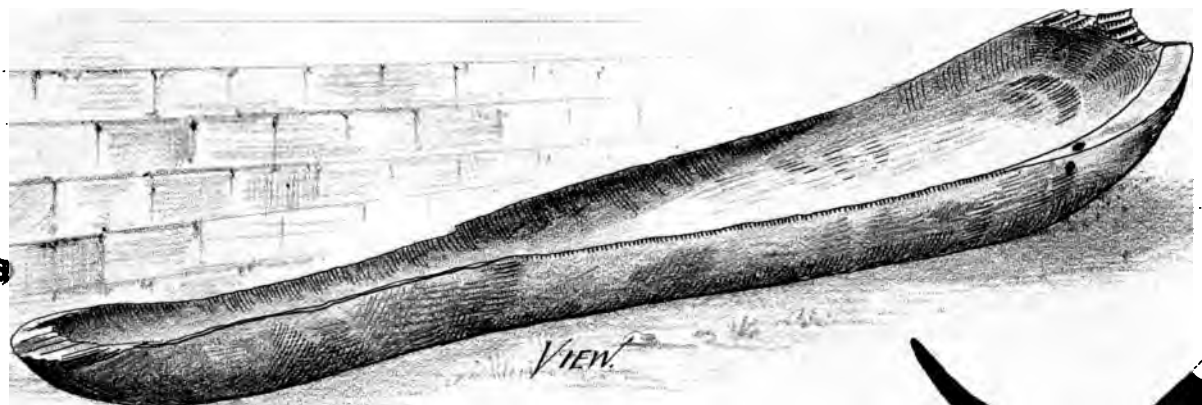
curve of the bow, the addition of this feature would add great strength to the structure at its weakest point, as it would be just at the centre of stem and stern, nearest the heart of the tree, that the log would have the greatest tendency to split. The peg-holes referred to, and others still to be mentioned, are very cleanly cut, and some are still perfectly circular in outline. They seem sufficient of themselves to require in the boat-builder a familiarity with the use of efficient metal tools, if not necessarily of iron ones. The condition of the remainder of the boat is not conclusive on this point, although it still bears some very definite tool-marks.

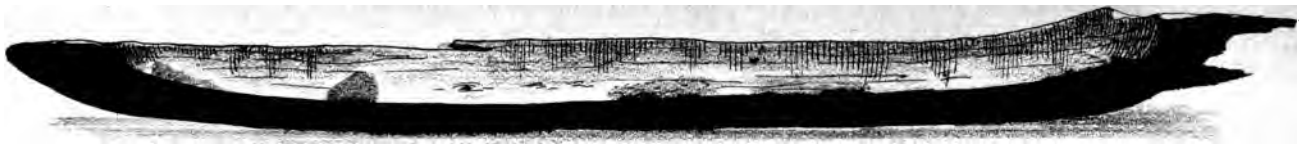
An interesting feature, which is peculiar to this specimen, is a thwart or seat fixed across the stern. The gunwale on each side being rabbitted to receive it, this thwart was held in place by the forward half of the stern waling, which covered it, and by two of the trenails, which would pass through the ends of it. The greater portion of the thwart was found in the boat, but the ends are wanting. When complete it would measure 2 feet 10 inches long by 6½ inches wide, and was formed of a single board rather less than an inch thick. There is no indication of a rabbit at the bow, and presumably there was no thwart there. In the absence of the actual prow, the existence of this thwart may serve to distinguish the stem from the stern. It was, one imagines, the steerer's seat.

In the centre-line of the boat are five plug-holes, bored, apparently, with the same auger as the holes in the gunwale. There is one in each end compartment, and three in the middle one, between the ribs. Several of the plugs are still in position, their ends being flush with the surface of the boat, inside and out; hence they were not perceived until the timber began to shrink. There are three

Measured Drawing of an Ancient Canoe

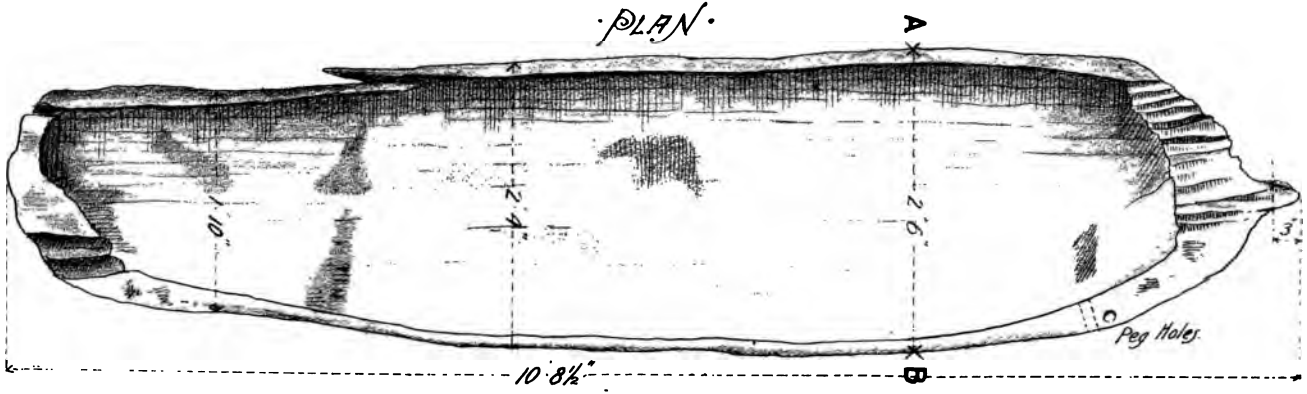
Found during the excavations for the River Diversion in Arpley Fields. Warrington. September. 1893.





· LONGITUDINAL SECTION ·

· PLAN ·



Scale of Feet.

Measured by WILLIAM OWEN F.R.I.B.A.
Local Sec^y Historic Society of Lanc^s & Cheshire.
4th Decr 1894 WARRINGTON.

other auger-holes, whose purpose is not so obvious. One is sunk vertically in the gunwale, on the starboard side, 4 feet 7 inches from the stern, and two are bored horizontally through the sides. The one on the starboard is two inches below the edge of the boat, and sixteen inches forward of the peg on the gunwale. It is rather larger than the other holes. The one on the opposite side is six inches below the edge, and twenty-one inches further aft.

There are numerous knots in the log of which this canoe was made, and several of them, notably two large ones in the bottom of the boat, have fallen out. It was said at the time of the finding of the boat that one of these knot-holes had been stopped, by means of a metal plate fixed outside, but no evidence of this is visible. The canoe is hollowed out of the trunk of an oak tree, and when it was unearthed the timber was soft to the touch, and had a charred appearance, from decay.

The smaller canoe, whilst evidently of the same type, does not present so many points of interest. It has, however, one additional feature in an overhanging nose or prow, the remains of which project some three inches beyond the stem. Including this projection, the canoe measures 10 feet 8½ inches in length. Its width was probably not less than 2 feet 9 inches, but a considerable portion of the port side is now wanting, owing, possibly, to the action of the dredger. Its depth, when perfect, would be about 14 inches, and the bottom, which is round, is in some places as much as 4 inches thick.

The bow has a broad, flat edge, and the presence of a vertical auger-hole on the starboard side suggests that it had a waling-piece, similar to that on the larger boat. Another hole passes through the side of the boat close by. No plug-holes have

been discovered in the bottom, nor are there any ribs or other peculiar features. The timber is oak, very free from knots, and in much sounder condition than the other specimen.

On comparing these canoes with the one found at Barton, we note that the Barton canoe is rather longer and deeper than the largest of them, measuring 13 feet 10 inches over all, by 2 feet 9 inches wide, by 19 inches greatest depth. It has the crescent-shaped waling on the stern, and from the stem there projects a beak six inches long, perforated from side to side with a round hole. There is also a small patch let in on the gunwale near the bow, and fastened down with two trenails. There are no ribs.

In this canoe a remarkable feature is the provision against splitting which was made by the insertion of wooden pegs, driven up from below into the thickness of the bow. They seem to have answered their purpose well, if I am right in believing that their presence was not discovered until they were revealed by the opening of the wood, through shrinkage, at the very point suspected by the builder.

But whilst it is interesting to find that all the canoes recorded as found in the Mersey valley are of the same type, there is nothing in the fact to help us to determine the date to which we may refer their origin, nor the race or state of civilization of their builders. Canoes of exactly similar construction have been found in Ireland and Scotland, whilst others, differing in important details, have been found at Preston and in other parts of England. With reference to a number of canoes found buried at Glasgow, it appears that "two had "evidently been scooped out by the action of fire;

"others had been hollowed with a rough implement "such as a stone axe; while several were cut "beautifully smooth, evidently with metal tools."[2]

In reference to this subject one necessarily quotes Dr. Munro. In his Rhind lectures, he says:—"Dug-out canoes do not indicate such "antiquity as is commonly attributed to them, nor "do they therefore necessarily carry us back to "prehistoric times."[3] Again, "they are invariably "found associated with crannogs," or lake dwellings. And as crannogs were still extant in Scotland within historic times, and in Ireland even in the seventeenth century,[4] we may assume a very late date for the complete disappearance of canoes from these islands.

Dr. Munro says further:—"There is no pecu-"liarity in the structure or forms of these dug-outs "which distinguishes their age or nationality."[5] This is perhaps sufficient justification for the detailed description of specimens which may not be in themselves of peculiar interest, for it is only by the comparison of accurate records of many specimens that the theory of the subject will eventually be evolved.

The geological aspect of the discovery, whilst giving evidence of great antiquity, does not offer a definite answer to questions regarding the period or race of the boat-builders. A reference to the plan will show the position of the larger canoe in relation to the bank of the river, the recently constructed lock, and the other remains which were found in its immediate neighbourhood. The most interesting of these were the piles or stakes, shown on the plan by rows of dots. On this point it will

2 Geikie, *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xviii, p. 221.
3 Munro, *Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 1890, p. 479.
4 Ibid, p. 481.
5 Ibid, p. 479.

be best to quote the words of my friend, Mr. Thomas May, F.E.I., to whom we are indebted for their description :—

"The piles and stakes extended in most peculiar fashion throughout the cutting for the new lock, a distance of over 200 yards. The piles, about 6 inches thick and 9 feet long, were in two irregular lines, 30 feet apart. Between the piles rows of stakes, some 3 inches thick and 5 feet long, crossed herring-bone fashion at an angle of about forty-five degrees, as indicated on the plan. These diagonal rows overlapped in the middle of the long line of piles, so that anything passing through would have to make a zig-zag progress. At the east end of the cutting, where the piles are very numerous, I counted seventeen within an area of about nine square yards, and found them to run up to 15½ and 16 inches in circumference. At this point oyster-shells and bones were numerous at ten feet from the surface, and sticks and sedges in horizontal layers were met with. All was as soft from decay as the surrounding silt.[6]

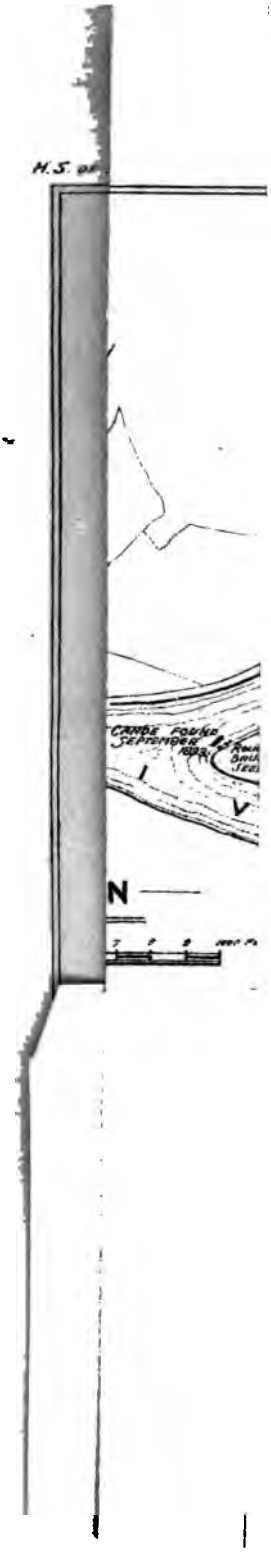
"The canoe lay upside down, over 18 feet below the original surface, and 18 inches above Ordnance datum, on a level with the lower ends of the piles near by, and three feet below the ends of the smaller stakes. It was more than 20 yards from the north bank of the river, and above it were three feet of clean sand, six feet of sticky diluvial clay, and nine to twelve feet of soft silt.

"A few water-worn fragments of Roman paving tiles were met with in the bottom of the cutting, at about the same level as the canoe. . . . . An anchor-stone, some 18 inches square by 9 inches thick, with a groove round it for retaining the rope, was found not far off; and three feet above the level, and a few yards southwards from the canoe, charcoal and other signs of a hearth were observed by Mr. Jones.

The anchor-stone was unfortunately used in building the lock, and a large piece of oak timber with a mortice at one end, said to have been found at the same place, was also not preserved.

In the sand, a little higher and a few yards westward of the canoe, a perfect skull of the great wild ox or urus was met with. A single horn-core of the same species was found in dredging half-a-

6 The piles and stakes were rough stems of alder, and their tops were about ten feet from the surface of the ground.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brought about by the deposition, removal, and redeposition of gravel, sand, and fine sediment, and by the shifting of the channel of the main currents from year to year and from century to century. All these it behoves the geologist and antiquary to bear in mind, so as to be always on their guard, when they are endeavouring to settle the relative date, whether of objects of art or of organic remains embedded in any set of alluvial strata." [8]

The question remains as to the meaning and age of the piles and the relation to them of the canoes. The contiguity of piles and a dug-out canoe, of course, at once suggests a lake dwelling, but the peculiar plan of the piles and stakes is against that idea; and although canoes, as we have seen, are invariably associated with lake-dwellings, the converse is by no means true. The relative position of the canoe and piles is, in fact, incompatible with the idea of there having been any connection between them. The canoe was found at the foot of the piles and three feet below the foot of the stakes, which could not, therefore, have been in existence when the canoe was deposited, nor until the spot had been overlaid with some feet of mud. The stakes being five feet in length, and their tops ten feet below the surface, indicates roughly the very considerable intervals which must have elapsed between the deposition of the canoe and the construction of the piling, and again between that time and the present. From the natural trend of the course of the river at this point, I would infer that the piling, when erected, was connected with the Cheshire bank—the river having moved southward since, and made land where was then probably a broad, shallow estuary.

[8] Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, 1863, p. 49.

LYDIATE HALL, NEAR ORMSKIRK, LANCASHIRE.

By Henry Taylor.

Read 8th March, 1894.

LYDIATE Hall, an old Roman Catholic home in the low-lying district known anciently as "inter Ripam et Mersham," is situated about half way between the Ribble and the Mersey, and stands on slightly rising ground, which forms the watershed of the little river Alt. The buildings are thus lifted out of the great marsh or bog which extends for miles around, and may be seen from a considerable distance. The Hall is about five miles inland from Formby Point, and though the trees surrounding it are of ancient growth, they have not altogether escaped the retarding and contorting effect of the sea breezes. As so often happens in similar cases, this westerly or "weather" side of the house has become dilapidated, and has had to be rebuilt in brick; but the easterly side and the parts within the quadrangle still remain in their original and picturesque style of half-timbered architecture.

The surrounding country is still quite agricultural, of the rough and rude Lancashire type, though the new railway between Liverpool and Southport, which passes near the building, may shortly break up the seclusion of the place with the villa of the man of commerce.

Apart from the architectural interest of an excursion to Lydiate—with which may be included a visit to the fine church at Sefton, full of beautiful carved-oak work—the country itself has a peculiar charm of its own. It is, indeed, unlike any other part of England with which I am acquainted, and for its special characteristics has been frequented by a school of artists who affect the modern French landscape style, and who find here ample materials for their pencil. The wild winds which cut across the flat country have given the little homesteads their own homely character. All is long and low. The little white-washed farmhouse, with its ling-covered roof, and the adjacent stack-yard and barns, are protected by a clump of trees, the boughs of which have a strong "set" inland.

On a day in August on which we visited the place, we had a pleasant picture. A wide landscape, studded with little homesteads; the dykes; the windings of the River Alt; the blaze of yellow ragwort, contrasting with the purple heather; the rabbit-warrens; the lapwings and black sea-birds; the four church-steeples and windmills; and the peculiar brilliantly coloured costumes of the women in this secluded agricultural district!

The accompanying illustrations sufficiently indicate of how thoroughly "old world" a character is this relic of bye-gone times, and how well it looks, standing back in a small park, a good arrow's flight from the high road between Halsall and Maghull.

Following a rule which prevailed much in Lancashire, and which to us is rather unaccountable, the house faces nearly due east. It is, however, sheltered from the wild Atlantic winds by the thick clump of trees already referred to, which encircles it more or less on the west, north,

and south, and which sets off to great advantage the half-timbered architecture.

A few hundred yards to the south of the Hall are the remains of the domestic chapel, improperly called Lydiate Abbey; a building erected by Lawrence and Katharine Ireland, towards the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The ruins consist of the nave and the western tower. The architecture, which is of the florid style which prevailed at that late period, is in a fair state of preservation, and it is not easy to understand why the restoration of this little chapel was not undertaken, as a place of worship for the Roman Catholics of the district, instead of the erection of the somewhat uninteresting new building which now stands nearly facing the old Hall.

Returning to the old Hall itself, we find here no exception to the general rule, which holds good both in ancient ecclesiastical and domestic architecture; for it is a kind of museum of the different styles which prevailed in England from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The building, though one of the smaller halls of Lancashire, is yet of considerable interest; and by the massiveness of its construction, and its rich ornamentation, was clearly built by people of good estate.

Earlier houses may not improbably have stood on the present site, for the ownership of the De Lydiates is traced back, by the Rev. T. E. Gibson, as far as the early Edwardian period; but no trace of any such mansion now exists. In Mr. Gibson's book on Lydiate Hall,[1] the suggestion is made that the eastern portion of the quadrangle, now pulled down, being of stone, must necessarily have been of earlier date than the existing great hall, which is of timber; but Dr. Whitaker, in the chapter on

[1] *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*, p. 2.

"Domestic Architecture" in his *History of Whalley*, confirms the result of my own researches, proving that prior to the time of Henry VIII the almost universal building material was timber (except in the case of very stately houses, situated in a district where stone was easily to be had), but in the time of his immediate successors there was in Lancashire a wholesale rebuilding in stone and brick. This was especially the case in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, the improved roads helping in the conveyance of the heavier material, and the demolition of the forests of oak necessitating the employment of brick or stone. At Harden Hall, in Cheshire, the old half-timbered portion remains (date about Edward III), whereas the new grand portion, built in stone about the time of Elizabeth, has fallen down of late, through bad construction.

To return to the home of the De Lydiates. The earliest portion of the existing building is of the well-known H-shaped type, the great hall forming the centre of the block, with family and servants' wings right and left of it. The date of this H-shaped portion of the present building is clearly recorded, both by the unerring tale which is told by its style of architecture, and by documentary evidence of unimpeachable character.

The Rev. T. E. Gibson, who for many years lived at the Hall, spent much time in investigating the deeds of the Blundell family—the owners of the property—and in his interesting book he has explained how Lawrence Ireland (whose initials are placed in the spandrels of the doorway leading from the passage into the hall) built this, the earliest part of the house, leaving it not quite finished. He died before 1485. It was completed, we are informed, by his successor, John Ireland, before the reign of Henry VII had come to an end. He died in 1514.

It is not improbable that this same John Ireland added also largely to the house, extending the family and servants' wings, and, in fact, may have completed the whole quadrangle, including the gate-house, as shown on the accompanying plan.

The building appears to have been surrounded by a moat, in the manner almost universal in mediæval times, and some indications of it are still visible at the front of the house. Near the site of the gate-house is to be seen the mounting block, inscribed F.A. 1748, a common feature in the old Lancashire halls. The gate-house and those portions of the eastern side of the quadrangle so indicated on the plan, were pulled down about the year 1780.

The chief interest of the building is concentrated in the great hall, an apartment about 32 feet long and 18 feet wide. Being built about a century after the period when the importance of the great hall as an apartment was at its height, we do not find here a grand open-timbered roof, as at Rufford, but a flat ceiling, as at Speke. It is, however, most elaborately ornamented by massive oak beams and joists. The height from floor to plastered ceiling does not exceed 11 feet 4 inches, thus necessarily precluding the erection of a minstrels' gallery.

At the southern end of the room stood the high table, surmounted by an elaborately carved and moulded canopy, which still exists. It is divided into thirty-six panels, by moulded oak work. At the intersection of these moulded ribs are elaborately carved bosses, the subjects of which are minutely catalogued in Mr. Gibson's book. They are of the quaint and fanciful character which is to be found in the work of this epoch, and consist of a dancing bear, a goat, a ram, a lion rampant, an owl, a wolf sejant, a bear passant, a mermaid, various heraldic devices, the pomegranate, the rose, and

other fruits and flowers, and many other curious devices.

At the western end of the high table was the ladies' bower, separated by a wooden archway from the great hall. This archway has been blocked up, but on digging outside, I discovered the foundations of this interesting little apartment, in which, doubtless, much love-making and gossip had gone on over the embroidery frame. At the eastern end of the high table is the staircase to the family bedrooms, and doorways leading to the smaller hall and parlour.

As at Speke, the great fire-place is at the opposite end of the hall to the high table, and is built on a similar plan, though, unlike the Speke example, it appears to have been part of the original structure, and not a subsequent insertion. Its inside space is about 12 feet in width and 3 feet in depth. Unlike the majority of the Lancashire ingle-nooks, it had no seats within it, but in connection with it is a shallow bay or recess in the west wall of the apartment (shown on plan), forming a very snug corner close to the fire. It is the only example of such an arrangement with which I am acquainted. Behind the great fire-place is the usual passage through the building from the quadrangle to the garden, and from it are the usual entrances to the great hall on one side and the kitchen and butteries on the other.

Returning for a moment to the great hall, we may notice the pretty effect obtained in the ceiling by the arrangement of the joists in the square panels formed by the great beams; for, as at Samlesbury and Little Moreton halls, the direction of the joists is changed in the alternate panels—a very favourite arrangement with Japanese artists. It forms, in fact, a kind of basket-work pattern, such as is to be seen in the carved spandrels of the nave arches in Bayeux Cathedral.

The great hall is lit by a continuous range of windows along its two sides, their sills being about seven feet from the floor, the walls below the sills having been wainscotted, the upper portion being enriched with the linen panel ornament.

At the back of the high table are the usual family rooms, consisting of the smaller hall and parlour for the lord and lady, the ceilings being ornamented by moulded oak beams; and above them is a fine withdrawing room, with panelled walls richly carved, and with a ceiling similar to that in the rooms below. Its length is about 31 feet, and width 15 feet 9 inches. Amongst the carvings in the wall panels, which are alleged to have been brought from the eastern apartments, are representations of five of the wives of Henry VIII, of Edward VI, and of Henry VIII with Katharine of Arragon. The work is delicately executed. In this now-dismantled room are some relics of the past, consisting of a crossbow, curious old candlesticks, and other antiquated furniture.

Above the great hall was a large apartment, which seems to have been intended as a dormitory, now divided into several apartments. For many years it was used as a chapel. Mr. Gibson tells us that when some alterations were made in this apartment, in the year 1841, "it was found necessary to remove a chimney of "spacious dimensions rising from the great hall "below, and a curiously contrived hiding-hole was "discovered in it, entered by a sliding panel. "Another hiding-place still exists in this south "wing, accessible by means of the rafters. This "is a small chamber, ten feet by four. In 1863, "when laid bare by the alterations going on in "the roof, some young friends found in it a "fowl-bone, which they carried away as a relic of

"one of the solitary meals of some persecuted "Lydiate priest."

The servants' wing has been completely gutted, but it does not appear to have presented many features of interest.

An effective interior view of the great hall is given in Rimmer's *Old Halls of Lancashire*, a book published about the year 1852, and now very scarce.

The house is at present empty, and undergoing extensive repairs and alterations.

A minute description of the pedigrees of the families who have lived at Lydiate is beyond the scope of this paper, but the following brief account, taken from Mr. Gibson's book, may not be without interest to the members of this society:—

"According to Dr. Kuerden, the De Lydiates and the De Halsalls own a common progenitor in William Gernet, a Norman follower of Paganus de Vilars, and enriched by him with a large tract of country previously held by Saxon proprietors. (P. xiii.) The De Lydiates failed in the male line as early as the end of the fourteenth century, and have left but few traces of their existence. In 1325, John de Lydiate was sent over to Ireland by King Edward II, to procure provisions for his English army. This may or may not have been John de Lydiate, son of Benedict, who held Lydiate in 1322, and who, in 1375, calls himself John Benetsone de Lydiate. His sole daughter and heiress, Katharine Benetsone, married, first, Robert de Blakeburne, but after his death, on attempting to make over her Lydiate estate to a member of the family of her second husband, Nicholas Parr, she was pronounced, at an inquisition held at Ormskirk, 1st of April, 1415, to be of unsound mind.

"Agnes, sole daughter and heiress of Robert de Blakeburne and his wife Katharine Blakeburne, married Thomas de Ireland, a scion of the ancient house of Ireland of Hutte. This alliance raised the proprietors of Lydiate a step in the social ladder, and the existing Hall, as well as the ruined chapel of St. Katharine, all the work of their son Laurence, bear evidence to the increased wealth and importance of its new owners, lords of Garston as well as of Lydiate. (Pp. xiv-xv.)

"To the Irelands succeeded the Andertons of Lostock, a family founded by Christopher Anderton, a scion of the ancient

race of Anderton of Anderton, near Chorley, of good local standing. In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Christopher Anderton was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, and seems to have amassed a considerable fortune. (P. xvi.) Sir Charles Anderton, the second baronet of Lostock, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Laurence Ireland, was the first possessor of Lydiate of this family, and his residence at his ancestral seat of Lostock deprived Lydiate of the fostering care of its immediate owners, a sure forerunner of decay. (P. xvii.) Eventually Sir Francis Anderton, the sixth and last baronet of Lostock, after narrowly escaping the loss of his head in the perils of 1715, found here a secure harbour for the last thirty years of his life, where he died in 1760. . . With him the baronetcy became extinct, the estate of Lydiate becoming the property, after some trouble, of his nephew, Robert Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell, whose grandson, Charles Robert Blundell, who died unmarried in 1837, devised his estates to Thomas, second son of Joseph Weld, of Lulworth, co. Dorset, Esq., whose son, Charles Weld-Blundell, Esq., is the present owner of Lydiate."

Note by Mr. Edward W. Cox.

The name of Lydiate, or Lidyat, expresses a gate or bar on a road, to restrain free ingress and egress to common village lands. It is apparent that where the common lands were wide, villages only were fenced at early dates to keep them from the trespass of cattle, the lands and communal fields being open and unenclosed ground.

It is most likely that we have in Lydiate Hall the whole of the original house, with such replacings in brickwork of the eighteenth century as the decay of the framing rendered essential. We have the list of rooms, and it should be possible to identify

those that remain, and from the list of those lost to form some idea of their plan and character.

From indications in the timber-work, it would seem as if the gate-house, though at least as high as the older house, had lower flanking wings. It is recorded that it was built of stone, and was of later date than the existing building. The panels in the upper withdrawing room ought fairly to give the date, as they have figures of Edward VI and Henry VIII's queens.

In many of the later mediæval buildings showing a combination of stone and timber structure, the latter seems to have been considered the superior material. At Nonsuch House, the masterpiece of Henry VIII's works, the servants' court was of stone, the state apartments of wood and plaster. Madely Manor, Peel Hall, and many other old halls show the same feature in their gate-houses.

The carved cornices of the upper drawing room are of the greatest interest. One line is like the hall, pure late Gothic; the other is renaissance work. Yet they are in the same room together. Were these latter in their original place, they would be among the very earliest in the style in England; but it must, I think, be assumed that they were either removed from the gate-house front, or put in when that was built. Torregiano was the first Italian artist who worked in that style in England. His well-known work is the tomb of Henry VII. King's College Chapel screen, with the initials of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, is one of the earliest works in this style. It is hardly likely that it was used previously in a remote Lancashire hall. Still its presence here is of the highest interest. In the few years that intervene between the building of the hall and its gatehouse, we have on the one hand the very latest Gothic art, still beautiful

and pure, on the other the change that was to consume and abolish and supersede the old—the beginning of the fall and loss of the science of architecture.

In the inventory of the goods of Edward Ireland, dated 1637, the names attached to the different rooms are recorded:—"There was the dyning "chamber, the greate chamber, the hall chamber, "the little chamber, als Mrs. Clives, [probably the "housekeeper] the butterie chamber, the greene "chamber, the canaby [canopied ?] chamber, the "garden chamber, the brewhouse chamber, the "nurseries, the squirrel chamber, the warde cham-"ber, the rowlinge chamber, the great parlor, and "the green parlor."

In attempting to recover the original plan of Lydiate Hall, we are assisted by the list of rooms given in the above inventory. The earlier portion of the house is planned, like many others of its date, with rooms sufficiently spacious, but very few in number. This house appears to have consisted only of the western side of the quadrangle, with a wing at the north and south ends; these projected eastwards only so far as the framed gables which are seen above the north and south sides of the quadrangle, which latter and lower buildings, together with the east side and its central gatehouse, were added at a later date, probably early in the seventeenth century, to form the quadrangle and inner court. The manner in which the roofs of the lower side buildings butt against the timbered gables, without connecting framework, is good constructional evidence that these gables were originally external features. It is also to be remarked that the characteristic horizontal lines of the older portion are not carried in all cases through the later buildings, and the character of the framing

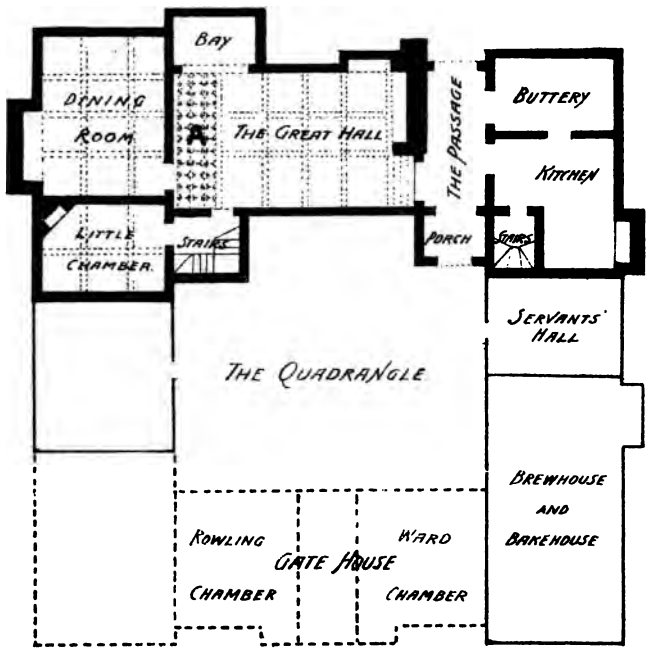
is also later and much less carefully put together than that of the central or western portion of the work. The upper line of framing of the hall may, however, represent a late repair that has superseded a deep cove below the original eaves.

The first house would thus consist of the great hall, with the withdrawing room, and a lesser parlour at its south end; a large chamber over the hall, with a corridor on its eastern side; also a large and elaborately decorated chamber over the drawing room (or, as it is called in the list, the dining chamber or lesser hall), the parlour, and probably a small room over the bay of the hall. At the north end are the kitchen, butteries, and pantries, with a large room over each, and a smaller one over the porch; also a smaller one, with a secret chamber, by the hall chimney. It is not now ascertainable whether there were dormitories for the servants in the roof, but servants' apartments are included in the list given by Father Gibson. This was an extremely common arrangement, the low, long apartment being fitted with cubicles, like the berths of a ship.

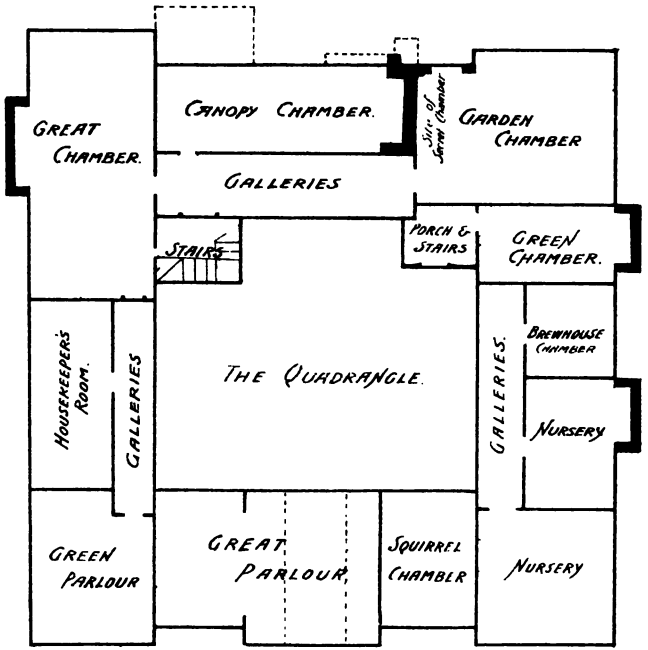
The arrangement of the great fireplace of the hall, so as to form a substitute for the screen commonly dividing the lower end of the halls of great houses from the entrances and the doors to the offices, is unusual, though something like this arrangement is to be found in ancient houses of humbler pretensions in Wales and Scotland, and partially also in the North of England and Cheshire. In Scotland the partially enclosed entrance by the hearth was called the "speere." A good example remained recently in the castle dairy at Kendal, a small building a little earlier than Lydiate, and having somewhat the same plan.

· LYDIATE HALL · LANCASHIRE ·

Ground Plan

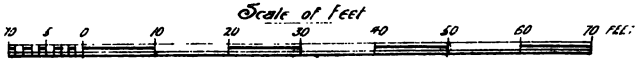


First Floor Plan



A The Dais where stood the high table with fixed seat under the canopy.

Scale of Feet



In the rooms detailed in the inventory the domestic offices appear to be omitted. The rooms over them are given, and some of them are accurately identified. Those in the earlier portion of the house are placed first, the remaining rooms, when marked down in the succession in which they are given upon the north, south, and east sides of the quadrangle, form a regular and consistent plan, and seem to occupy positions appropriate to their names. If we take the rooms of the upper floor from the north staircase in the succession in which they are given, we find and identify the first room reached as the "buttery chamber," over the buttery; and next to it the "green chamber," over the kitchen. Turning southwards along the corridor, the "canopy chamber" is probably so called because it is above the hall ceiling and the canopy of the dais. It is likely that a small room over the bay of the hall was the "garden chamber": it looked towards the plot of ground marked as a garden on the general plan. The hall, and dining room, and the little chamber and great chamber over them, all remain little altered in the centre and south wing of the older house, and are easily identified.

The list of rooms is continued in the north wing; they were reached by the corridor overlooking the courtyard. The "brewhouse chamber" is over the brewhouse, next the kitchen; then follow two nurseries, one having a large fireplace. Turning to the gatehouse front, we have the "wardroom" in its proper place on the right of the gateway, and over it the "squirrel chamber"; possibly the warder's room, reached by a ladder from the wardroom; the "rowling chamber," on the opposite side of the gateway to the wardroom, and the upper floor of the gatehouse; and the

southern part of this east front is devoted to the "great parlour" and the "green parlour."

It was very usual in early houses and in monasteries to place the guest rooms in and adjacent to the gatehouse, and nearly always on the first floor. These apartments were large, and handsomely fitted and furnished. If the great parlour occupied such a position, it would have nearly the same dimensions as the hall. In castles the gatehouse was frequently the prison, used for those whose imprisonment was not severe, or for prisoners of distinction.

At the south-east angle is placed the "green parlour." The name of this room, and its proximity to the "rowling chamber" next the gateway, seems suggestive of a bowling green having existed at this side of the house, rather than a derivation from the colour green; the name of the "garden chamber" having an analogous derivation. The lower apartments of the later south wing seem from their roughness not to have been dwelling rooms but offices, possibly stables for the owner's horses; and the upper room in this wing is the only one left to be allotted to Mrs. Clive, probably the housekeeper.

This conjectural allotment of the list of rooms given in 1637, will be found, as laid down on the plan, to complete a house typical of the period of its building. It is offered with due reserve for the lost portions, of which, it is hoped, plans giving full details before the destruction of the gateway face of the quadrangle may ultimately be found.

In the plans given of the hall, the bay on the west, next to the dais, which is no longer in existence, is shown as square, but recent examination of its foundation show it to have been polygonal. In many of the Lancashire halls the

polygon was not bisected on the side next the hall, but formed two-thirds or three-fourths of the polygon, as at Ordsall and Samlesbury. Above this was most commonly a small room, usually square, boldly overhanging the lower story. At Lydiate this looked towards the garden, and it seems to fall into proper sequence in the list as the "garden chamber."

In the list of furniture given by the inventory of 1637, the large number of beds in the house is to be remarked. Many of the rooms called parlours contained more than one; on the other hand, the "rowling chamber" had in it only a cupboard. We are enabled to see by the free distribution of beds throughout so many rooms how the apparent want of bedchamber accommodation was supplemented.

Although later additions have greatly changed Pool Hall, the original timber building of that edifice appears to be of nearly the same date as Lydiate, and the original plans have many features of correspondence. There is no certain indication that either building was in any measure made defensible by moat, outworks, or other arrangement. The whole character of both houses is purely domestic. The depression in the ground level in front of Lydiate Hall most likely marks an ancient road, and the base of a cross beside it seems also to indicate this.

The Chapel of St. Katherine, adjacent to the Hall, has already been well described. There remains, however, to be noticed that although it is late in date and cannot have been built many years prior to the Reformation, there are marks on the tower showing that it has been twice roofed. The roof at the lower level is nearly flat, and can only have been covered with lead.

If this were removed at the Reformation, the higher pitched roof, which is still a depressed one, seems to indicate a repair subsequently made by a slate or slab covering, and is curious, owing to the rarity of instances in which chantries or chapels have been repaired after their dismantlement at the Reformation. The masons' marks in this building are very clearly cut and of moderate size. Some half-dozen masons have worked upon it. Among other marks are the pentacle, the crossed flails, and the hour-glass, all more or less ordinary marks, and they are not found bearing quite the same character in other buildings in the vicinity.

BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.

By Edward W. Cox.

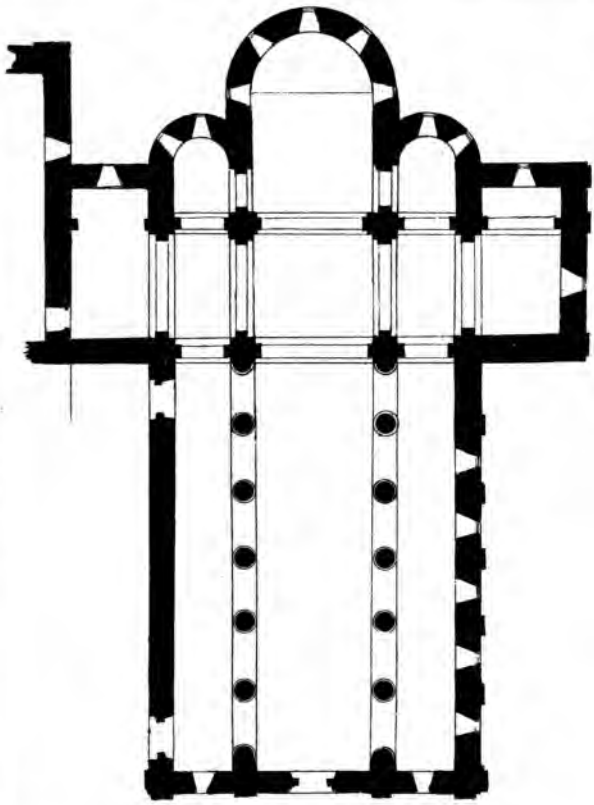
Read 1st November, 1894.

SEVERAL attempts have been made to illustrate and recover the original features of the Benedictine Priory of Birkenhead, but its arrangements have hitherto proved a puzzle to architects and archæologists; partly from their peculiarities, also from the fact that they have been rather treated as pendants to its history, than an exhaustive analysis by careful measurement and assortment of its remaining fragments; also that sufficient attention has not been directed to the architectural changes in construction and demolition that it has undergone at various periods. The present paper aims at separating these questions from more general ones, and treats them from a point of view wholly archæological. If this form of study naturally involves much technical detail, it is hoped that the account of the many hitherto unconsidered features and relics may in any case prove useful as records and studies of this beautiful building, and that they may serve to assist in re-establishing some of the plans and details whose purposes hitherto have been misunderstood or supposed to have been lost beyond hope of recovery.

The plan of Birkenhead Priory Church as hitherto accepted has been that of a nave, 63 feet

long by 27 feet wide, transepts, and a short, square-ended chancel—the total interior length being 120 feet, by 52 feet wide, including the aisles. The plan I place before you from the data I have gathered, and the measurements and calculations I have based upon them, will show a church having a total length of 154 feet, an interior breadth of 42 feet, and a width, over the chapels of the chancel that succeeded the Norman transepts, of 77 feet. The analogy of the buildings of Chester Cathedral has been brought forward as giving a key to those at Birkenhead, and with this comparative test I cordially agree; but the details have been curiously misread, and the position of the corresponding buildings misplaced in the plans hitherto given in such a manner as to confuse and distort the whole scheme. In the plans now presented I have endeavoured to correct these errors. I trust they will be found to establish a complete harmony as regards the existing remains, and that, in addition, we have been enabled to recover, with considerable claim to accuracy, the lost details and proportions of the Priory Church.

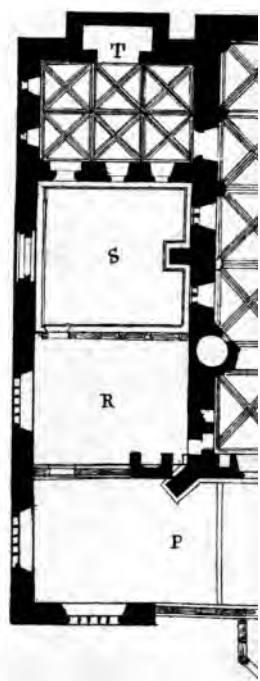
The first idea for the readjustment of the existing buildings to their original uses is due to Dr. Jessop, whose well-grounded objection to accept the great hall on the west side of the conventual building as the refectory, and his allotment of this to the great hall of the Prior's house, compelled the location of the refectory and dormitory elsewhere. The refectory was clearly the large apartment on the north side, over the groined substructures; but Dr. Jessop was unable to fix any site for the dormitory or other buildings of the court. This paper will, I think, show that traces sufficient to ascertain not only the position but the exact size and character of the remaining buildings are still visible in these interesting ruins.



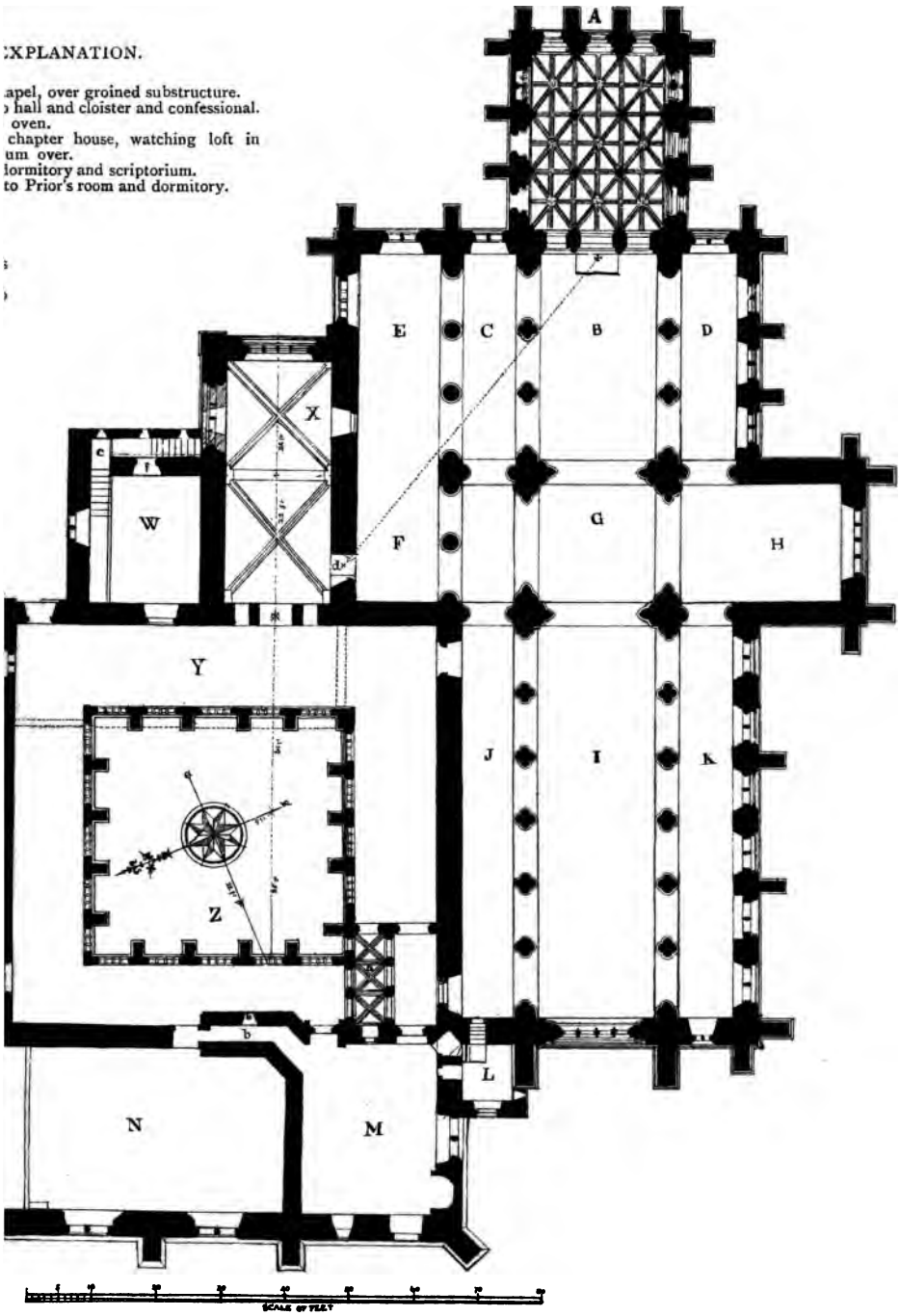
THE NORMAN CHURCH.

BIRKENHEAD

A The Lady Chapel.
B The choir.
C North chancel aisle.
D South chancel aisle.
E Chapel.
F Sacristy.
G Central tower.
H South transept.
I Nave.
J North aisle of nave.
K South aisle of nave.
L Porch, porter's lodge, and
to Church.
M Prior's apartments, almonr
cloister in basement.
N Prior's hall.
O Porch to guest hall.
P Guest hall.
QQ Screens of Prior's hall an
R Lay brothers' and servitor
S Kitchen court.
T Kitchen.
U Cellar and ambulatory un
VV Serving rooms to Prior's
W Monks' parlour, sub-prior's
X Chapter house, scriptorium
Y Cloisters.
Z Cloister garth.



NOTE.—The line of orientation passes through the centre of the plan, through door of chapter house and the Prior's seat in chapter house, and through Prior's place at the dais of his hall. The east front is planned to present seven gables towards the river; and the north front three gables, the west two gables, and the south two gables—seven in all in these three fronts. In the cloister court five gables. The deviation of the orientation is one point to the south of east—east-south-east. One of the diagonal groin ribs in the ambulatory has been inadvertently omitted.



BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.—RECOVERED PLAN.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

On the east side of the cloister garth stands the Norman chapter-house, and its position corresponds with that of St. Werburgh's, at Chester. Its western front was crossed by the eastern alley of the cloisters, a door and two plain windows opening into it; an arrangement identical with the later and much richer chapter-house at Chester. At the Dissolution this chapter-house appears to have been fitted up as a private chapel, the cloister and church being destroyed and the building isolated, all the attached walls of adjoining structures being roughly cut away, details effaced, and the scars patched with masonry. The door leading from the south side was changed to a window, to light the lower portion under a gallery then inserted, with a screen of which traces remain on the central Norman vaulting shafts. Two perpendicular windows were inserted on the east and north, and access, which was formerly had to the scriptorium over the chapter-house from the buildings joining the north side—probably the sub-prior's apartment being cut off by their destruction—was made by an external staircase and a late Tudor door.

THE DORMITORY.

Rudely as this building has been handled, there is still to be seen on its western gable, below the scriptorium window, a course of hard grey sandstone, with six corbels below it of the same material, hewn level with the wall in such a way as to show that they once projected as the guttering and roof corbels of the lost dormitory, standing above the eastern alley of the cloister. In the south wall of the refectory is the socket for the beam that crossed to meet the north-east pier of the cloister, and it shows a width of fourteen feet.

There are no toothings for a stone wall in the south face of the refectory, nor any spring of an arch to carry a wall of masonry. This and the beam sockets lead to the inference that the dormitory was a timber superstructure above the cloister, of the width of 14 feet. This would be narrow, but a timber building could be projected over the line of the 14-feet cloister below it, so as to give an interior width of 15 feet at least. Thus, we should have a dormitory built of timber, 15 feet wide and 50 feet long, if carried to the south line of the chapter-house. The number of monks at Birkenhead was eighteen. This apartment would give eighteen cubicles of 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet wide, with a longitudinal central passage of 2 feet 6 inches wide, and a traverse one from the door at the eastern side, thus exactly accommodating the monks on the foundation.

We may turn now to the analogy of Chester. The position of St. Werburgh's dormitory corresponds with that now allotted to the dormitory at Birkenhead. The structure above the cloister is entirely removed, but in the south refectory wall, at the end of the former dormitory, is an arcading in the wall extending beyond the line of the cloister wall, thus showing that the width of the dormitory was greater than that of the cloister below it, and that it could only have been an overhanging story of timber. The buttresses do not die into the wall with sett-offs, as on the other sides of the cloister, but are carried up square, to bear a bressemer beam for an overhanging timber story; and, as at Birkenhead, there are no toothings in the refectory wall for the junction of that of the dormitory. The strong presumption, therefore, is that Chester had also a timber-framed structure for its dormitory, and slight as are the traces at Birkenhead, they disclose the same design.

THE MONKS' PARLOUR.

On the north-west side of the chapter-house is the rear arch of a ruined doorway, leading into what has been, most likely, the monks' parlour, with the sub-prior's chamber above it. On the north wall are the same marks of the obliteration of the junctions of buildings as are distinguishable on the west face of this building. They indicate that the apartment adjoining on the north was 24 feet long, and that it had a double wall, the inner one 2 feet 6 inches thick, the outer a thin wall. Between these is the original entrance to the scriptorium, apparently blocked up after the Reformation, and converted into a window, now built up. It seems fairly certain that the interval between these walls contained the original stone stairs to this door, and that a branch of the staircase to the right led into the dormitory. Access to the church by the second or north-east door of the nave, from the east walk of the cloister, was thus close and easy from the dormitory, and the difficulty of access to the church, arising from the location of the refectory in what has hitherto been called the dormitory, is entirely solved. Turning again to Chester, we find the arrangement practically identical with Birkenhead, and the church door similarly placed. One curious indication that the destruction of the monks' parlour was effected immediately after the Reformation is found in the fact that the late perpendicular window—possibly re-used from elsewhere—cuts through the thin outer wall of the staircase, and that the original door of the scriptorium had been rendered inaccessible when that window was inserted. May we not safely conclude, both from the traces left us and the analogy of St. Werburgh's, that the parlour and the sub-prior's chamber have thus been recovered?

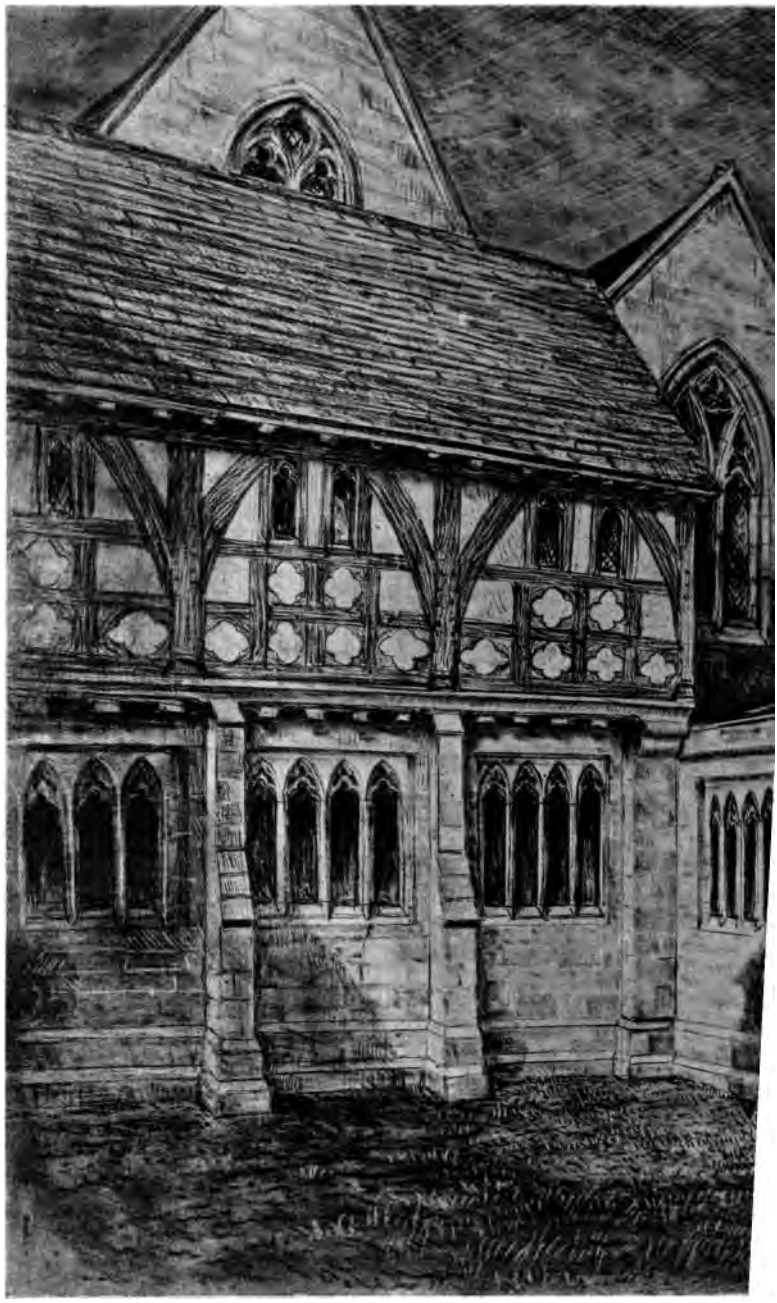
THE PRIOR'S ORATORY.

There remains against the east wall of the Prior's apartment, on the south side of the entrance from the cloister, the springings and line of groining, with plain chamfered ribs, of a substructure, which had over it another apartment stretching eastward, as evidenced by the indication of the junction of the side walls and the door leading from the first floor of the Prior's rooms. This groined substructure appears to have been open to the cloister, and to have formed a part of it on the south side. That all the rest of the cloister was timber-roofed, and not groined, is plain from the corbels to carry the roof. Exactly in a corresponding position at St. Werburgh's stands the abbot's chapel, set over a Norman groined substructure, leading into the cloister and the church by a north-west door. Traces of the splay of such a north-west door remain also at Birkenhead.

The chapel on the upper floor at Chester is partly groined, the chancel having a timber roof. If we give to the Birkenhead example two bays for its small nave and one for the chancel of the oratory, the third or sub-chancel bay would, if pierced by a doorway, exactly give an entrance into the cloister garth, and a walk of 14 feet in width. We have found the width of the east cloister walk to be 14 feet, and by including this groining in the south cloister and measuring to the still-discernible west wall of the church, the width of the south walk is also found to be 14 feet.

THE CLOISTERS.

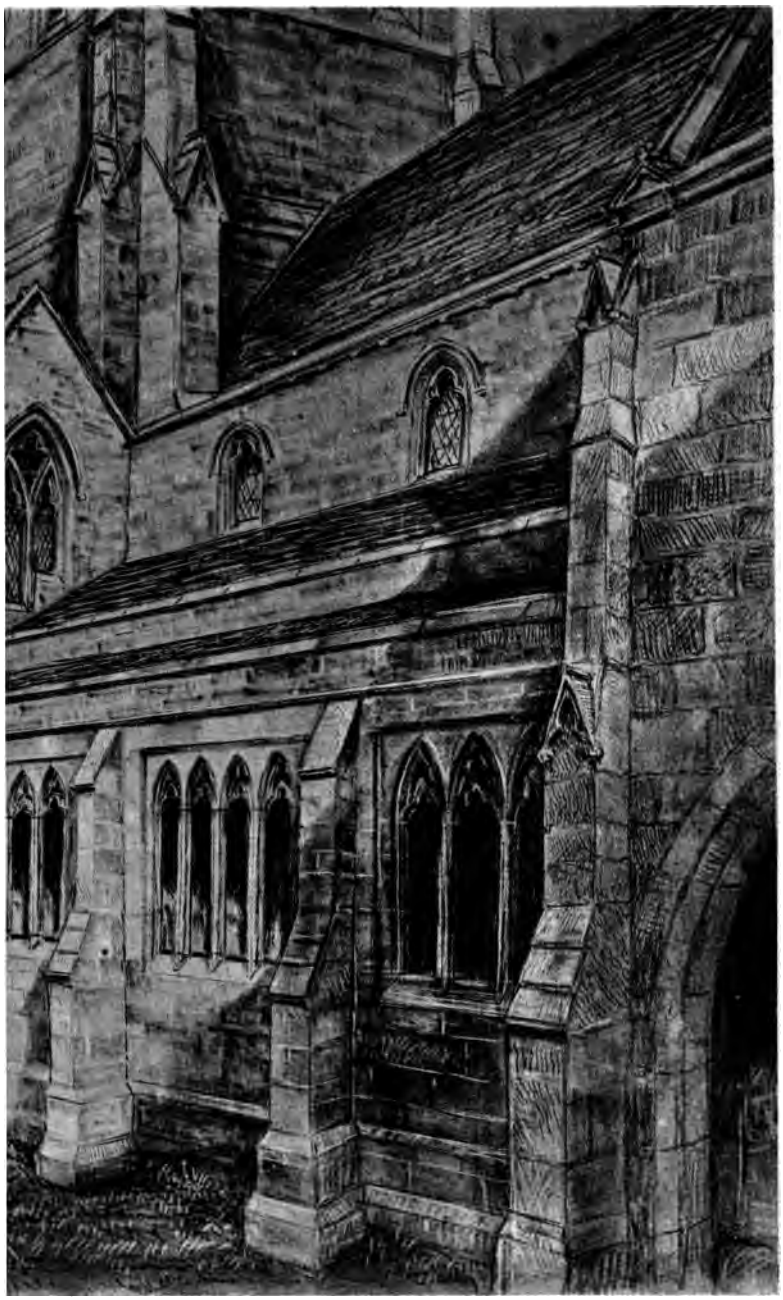
The east and south cloister alleys (being designed for access to the church both from the dormitory, the Prior's house, and the exterior) were wider than the other two; the north alley, which was used for service from the kitchen, being 11 feet, and the



BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.—VIEW OF RES

AND

PLATE X.



ER, DORMITORY, NORTH SIDE OF CHURCH,
R'S CHAPEL.

west alley, least used of all, only 9 feet. The result of this arrangement gives a symmetrical cloister garth of 33 feet by 34 feet within the buttresses, or 39 feet by 40 feet to the walls. It recovers, by means of the mysterious and hitherto unexplained bit of groining, the Prior's chapel, and brings this and the cloister into conformity with Chester. The widening of the south and east cloister alleys at Chester is effected by adding a narrow aisle next to the cloister garth. The entrance to the cloister from the west has in both buildings been made by a passage under the south end of the Abbot's and Prior's apartments, and all the positions of the other doors into the cloister correspond most closely with each other. These details and comparisons give us, therefore, with some fair assumption of accuracy, the plan of the lost cloisters of Birkenhead.

CELLAR AND KITCHEN.

The cellar and kitchens by this re-adjustment now fall into their right places. The latter is ascertained to have been a groined apartment, projecting northward from the east end of the refectory block of building. The mark of the lines of vault are to be traced on the north refectory wall, and there is a reconstructed pillar in the refectory, probably taken thence. That it had a storey over it is shown by the door on the first floor opening from the refectory. The Prior's hall had a separate serving door, opening behind the screens at the north end from the kitchen court. The north wall of the refectory, between the kitchen and the Prior's hall, has been much altered and almost entirely rebuilt in post-Reformation times.

PORTER'S LODGE.

There is a singular imitation of the Chester arrangements at the re-entering angle between the

south end of the Prior's apartments and the west end of the church, where was placed a square tower, which appears to have risen only a little over the height of the north aisle and the wall of the Prior's rooms. Only the toothings remain to mark its place. It has contained, most likely, the Prior's external entrance, the porter's lodge, and a most ingenious concentration of doorways leading to the church, the cloister, the Prior's rooms, and the exterior of the building, all of which could be commanded by a single janitor. This tower reproduces the Norman western tower of Chester Cathedral, which likewise commanded the stairs to the abbot's rooms, the church, and the north domestic entrance. The Chester tower was either never finished, or was taken down to a height a little above the north aisle. The purpose of this small but important feature at Birkenhead does not seem to have been previously recognised.

One more detail of the Prior's hall has been discovered, namely, the foundation of the screens at the north end, which stood 12 feet from the wall.

THE CHURCH.

Having thus rearranged the domestic buildings, and by this means brought them into complete harmony with those of Chester, and also, by the same means, recovered the character and dimensions of lost details, we may turn to the church, where emendations are equally needful, not only to reconcile the existing remains with reasonable construction, but to show that the analogies of the other buildings are continued in the church. The remnants of the church remaining are: the north jamb of the west window, a fragment of the west wall of the north nave aisle, and traces of the north aisle wall, with two doors to the cloister, the lower part of the west wall of the north

transept, with the spring of an arch that crossed the north aisle, and the traces of the transept on the south side of the chapter-house; also the north-western respond of the nave arcade. It will be seen from this that only the length of the nave and breadth of its north aisle can be measured from remains.

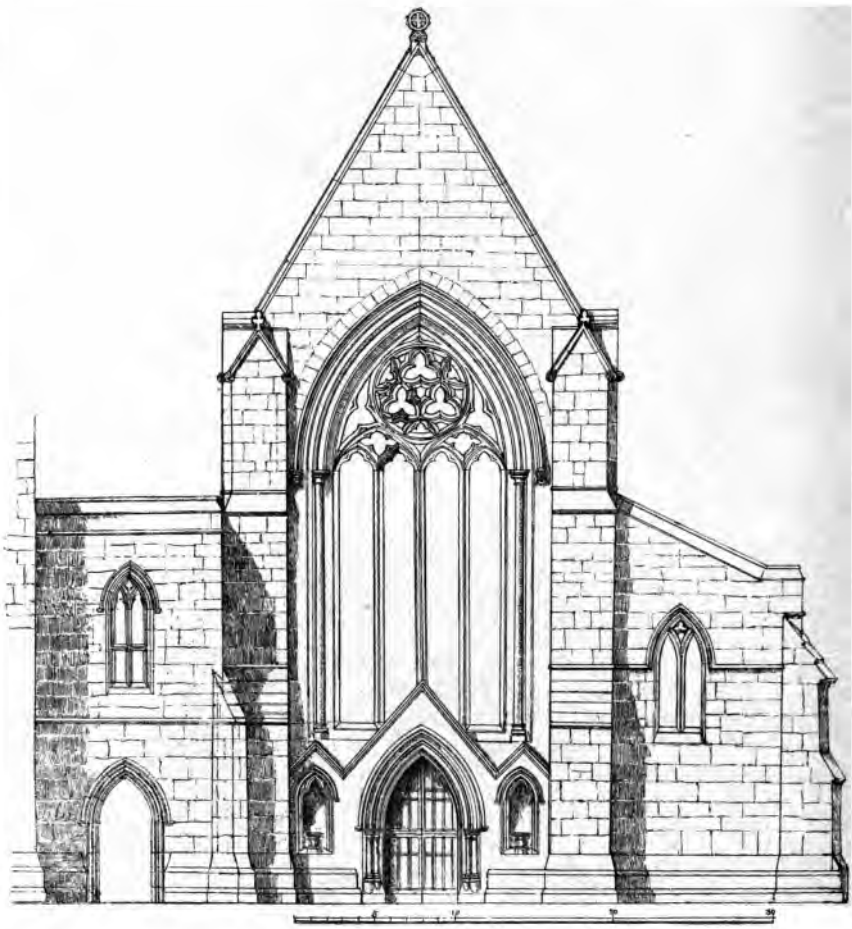
The marks of a cross wall on the south wall of the chapter-house have been supposed to give the width of the transept; but, for reasons to be stated, I think this trace is wrongly interpreted, and I offer a new explanation of it in the proposed scheme of the Norman church. By taking this measure for that of the transept, the entire calculations of the proportions of the church have been thrown out of form.

It is better here to show the evolution of the new set of measures for the thirteenth century church, and then to develop the way in which the other features seem to fall naturally into harmony. We may now proceed to explain the process by which the dimensions of the church are to be ascertained. No trace is now visible of any foundation that will give us its breadth. They must, therefore, be reasoned out by the analysis of other remnants. Among these are three fragments of the tracery of a large window, of second-pointed date, forming portions of the heads of trefoiled lights having four centred depressed arches. This form is more usual in late perpendicular than in decorated work, but here it has been adopted with a purpose. Professor Freeman has said that Gothic must be abandoned as a perfect style, since there was no conceivable way in which a circular tracery could be carried on pointed lights. With this piece of tracery Professor Freeman's crux could be solved. The measure of it indicates that it formed a light of two feet in the opening.

Decorated windows of this class were very commonly of four lights; and four such lights, with heads of the depressed character, would carry a circular tracery of six feet with perfect symmetry at the bearings and junctions. If we add such a circle to the lights, and enclose them in an equilateral arch, the almost universal form for large early decorated windows, it will be found to contain them exactly. Moreover, another fragment gives us a cusped trefoil, which, when drawn out and re-constructed, is found to fit with equal exactness into the conventional tracery pattern within the circle. Thus we are able to restore the west window.

A further proof that these pieces really belong to the west window, is found in the fact that a portion of the original jamb is *in situ*, on the ruins of the west end, and that the tracery corresponds with the splay of this jamb. A still more interesting evidence is given by the fact that the jamb has been fitted to carry the glass in a wooden frame, and that the curve of the head of the light shows the notch into which the wood frame was rebated and fixed. All the conclusions, therefore, seem to show that the west window is correctly reconstructed.

Let us now see what measures are given by this window. Four lights of 2 feet give 8 feet; three mullions, of 8 inches each, 2 feet additional; two half-mullions, 8 inches; making a window of 10 feet 8 inches across the breadth, including mullions. The wall of the west end still standing measures 4 feet 2 inches on the north side from the respond to the jamb. If we take a similar piece on the south side of the window, we obtain a total interior width of 19 feet; or, measuring to the centre of the columns or responds of the arcade, as was commonly done by the ancient masons, the width



BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.

WESTERN ELEVATION OF CHURCH.

of the nave was 21 feet, not 25 feet or 27 feet, as formerly estimated.

I have dwelt on the process of evolving this measure in some detail, because as we proceed it will be shown, by the accumulation of proofs, how the correction of these dimensions helps to a solution of previous difficulties, and sets the whole scheme of the building into complete harmony and consistency; how this also enables us to measure and recover the lost features, and at the same time to emphasise and increase the analogies with the sister building of St. Werburgh's, at Chester.

From the fragments of the west end of the north nave aisle we are able to measure the breadth of the nave aisles as 7 feet interior and 11 feet exterior width. Taking the south aisle as of equal width, we have a nave of the total breadth of 50 feet to the outer walls. It is extremely likely that the dimensions of the nave of thirteenth century work are identical with the original Norman nave of 1150, which may be shown by a separate analysis of the Norman fragments.

Very various estimates have been made as to the number of arches in the nave arcade, mostly deduced from the curious drawing in King's *Vale Royal*, 1656, in which they are represented as five round-headed ones; and it has been generally assumed that they were three in number, and of semi-circular form. The fact that they are so represented in the *Vale Royal* plate is not only not conclusive—because every arch, including existing ones which are pointed, is similarly shown—but a careful examination of the plate will, I think, disclose the intention of the artist who drew it as to what he meant to convey. The bird's-eye views of buildings of this period often partake as much of the nature of a plan as of a view; and in this plate it would not be possible to see the arcade

as represented, yet it was intended to suggest both its then existing and its former condition. One wide arch and two columns are given fully shaded, with a half-arch on the right and on the left in outline, and three narrower arches without columns are indicated.

It has been already shown that the dormitory and cloisters appear to have been obliterated after the Reformation, and the space turned into an open courtyard for the house into which the Worsleys converted it. With the nave arcade standing, the arches would be too narrow to admit a loaded cart. Probably, therefore, they were removed at that time, with the exception of two, which, by the removal of the intermediate column, were thrown into one wide opening, and the springings connected by a rebuilt wide arch, shown in the plate, which would serve as a gateway. The half-arches on each side would be built up to serve as counterfoils of the wide arch. This is the arrangement shown in the shaded parts in the etching, and the sketchy outlined narrower arches are added to show the artist's idea of what formerly existed. Thus we should have for the original arcade six, not three, four, or five arches, as formerly surmised.

How far will the existing remains bear out this theory? Upon the capital of the north-western respond are four voussoirs or arch stones. Of these, the upper one of the two in the inner order is a piece from some other arch of different curve and having only one chamfer, plainly placed there in some recent repair. The upper stone of the outer order has become displaced, and has also been roughly repaired; but the ashlar courses that abutted on its extrados remain to show its original line. The lower stones of the inner and outer orders are both *in situ*. By very carefully taking

the curves given by these stones, the span of the arches they have formed part of can be ascertained. It is true that a semi-circular arch of 20 feet span to its outer line could be given, but we should obtain thus the anomaly of greater span than those of the central crossing; and if we accept the measure of the transept, as indicated by what is alleged to be its eastern wall, we have the further anomaly of a central tower of oblong form with its longer axis east and west, a form for which I know of no precedent, although such towers having their longer axis north and south are not unusual. The lengthways arrangement would give the arches of the crossing more width and greater importance than those opening into the nave and chancel. Further, if the arcade consisted of three round arches, and the main roof principals were arranged, as they usually were, over the springings and the centres of the arches, there could be only two main principals in the length of the nave of 63 feet, which would be a very poor and weak piece of construction.

That the roof was carried by principals, and was not a waggon-headed roof of closely set timbers, appears to be indicated by a strong corbel for framed principals which existed twenty-five years ago in the north aisle. With an arcade of six arches we obtain equilateral pointed arches consistent with the period of their erection, a proper proportion between those of the nave and crossing, vertical lines of support through the piers for five principals for the nave roof, also the very significant fact that the vertex of such arches corresponds with the indications we have of the height of the aisle walls, whereas three round arches would carry the apex much too high.

It is stated that in excavating the ground, the bases of columns were found for three arches. I

was fortunate enough to see part of this excavation, when the present railings were set up, and the base then dug up appeared to be a fragment, not *in situ*. It is to be seen in the prior's apartments, while the similar piece, now forming a threshold for the gate, I saw lifted into that place, and it is, I believe, a capital. Probably other proofs will eventually be found that the nave arcade consisted of six arches.

From the foregoing argument it will follow that the square of the central crossing to the centres of the piers was 21 feet; also that the transepts were similarly 21 feet wide, not 25, 27, or 30 feet; and that the indications of the supposed eastern transept wall must be otherwise accounted for. This will be done when we consider the original Norman church, that on which we are commenting being the church as it stood at the Reformation.

Among the stones piled in the Prior's hall are three portions of piers of larger dimensions than the nave piers, and differing in form, inasmuch as the largest shaft is keel-shaped, not semi-circular. There are also several pieces of keel-shaped detached shafts, 7 inches by 6 inches, and a capital, that may have belonged to this shaft. These members combine into a strong pier, such as would be used to carry a central tower; and their measurements are so harmonious when so set together, that it may be very safely assumed that this was their location. They indicate that the arches opening into the chancel transepts had a span of 14 feet clear, a measure harmonising with the assumption of six arches of the nave, of which the clear opening was seven feet, or half that of the crossing.

The elongation of the large central members of these piers to a keel shape, and the addition of detached shafts in the mode indicated on the section

given, also illustrate the constructive needs which dictated the adoption of these forms—which are drawn inward, narrowing the tower arches to a span of 14 feet—for the crossing; by which the thrust of the tower arches was partly met, so as to reduce the strain on the buttresses; and at the point where the north chapel had superseded the Norman transept, it was possible to dispense with a buttress at the north-east angle of the tower.

THE NORMAN CHURCH.

It is convenient at this point to endeavour, by a digression, to determine, as far as possible, what may have been the plan of the Norman church of 1150 A.D.; because, so far as the plan of the thirteenth century church has been commented on, it is most likely that it followed the Norman ground plan very closely, both as regards its area and the arrangement of its aisles and arcades; but from the transepts eastward the later church, according to the few traces left, was considerably altered and extended. Taking, then, a nave of six bays, with north and south aisles, the width of each Norman transept should be 21 feet; but the east wall of the north transept, which is cut away close to the junction of the chapter-house, marks about 30 feet; and as the Norman string-course for the exterior of the chapter-house is stopped by this wall, there is little doubt that this wall is a portion of the Norman work.

We may again turn to St. Werburgh's for a clue to this design. The Norman north transept there remains, and an arch, now walled up, once communicated with an apsidal chapel on its eastern face, replaced at a later date by the existing sacristy. If we take a somewhat similar plan for Birkenhead, the width of the Norman aisle-less transepts will be 21 feet, and the trace of the wall

will represent that of an eastern chapel, opening, probably, by an arch eastwards, as at Chester. When side apses are thus projected eastwards, an apse to the central part of the church would almost certainly be designed. Square-ended aisles are to be found with a central apse, but projecting apses from the aisles or transepts would scarcely ever be used with a square-ended chancel. It may be assumed, therefore, that the Norman church had three apses to the east, and that the chancel was short, as was usual in similar churches. Such a design would again bring us into very close conformity with the Norman cathedral of Chester.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY EXTENSION OF THE NORMAN CHURCH.

We may now go on to show how this Norman church was transformed in its eastern members, in the thirteenth century. The apsidal chancel was removed, and one of three bays, with side aisles, extended from the eastern side of the crossing. Three bays would form the complement to a nave of six bays, according to the rule commonly followed in the northern counties of England. The eastern wall of the north transept was taken away and cut level with the chapter-house, as we now find it, and the space extended eastward as a second north chancel aisle, or probably as a chapel. The traces of this eastward extension are quite plain, in the irregular junction of its wall with the south-east angle of the chapter-house. The Norman window of the chapter-house, now external, would look into this chapel. Not only have we the indications above spoken of, but the plate in King's *Vale Royal* gives this wall as then standing, and containing a large pointed window to the east of the small Norman one still extant.

From the traces of the external masonry of the scriptorium, which formed part of the northern limit of this chapel, it is plain that it had a span roof running from west to east; consequently this alteration practically obliterated the Norman north transept. Further than this, such a roof was a necessity, as a western window was essential for lighting. The chapel, wedged in between the church and the chapter-house, could only be lighted from the east and west, and from the north so far as it projected beyond the chapter-house. The north window is shown in King's *Vale Royal* plate. Moreover, the plate shows a window of considerable height, and the plan makes a high building needful, that the western window might clear the roof of the cloister exactly at the open space left by the termination of the dormitory short of the full length of the eastern side of the cloister. In the same manner, and for the same reasons, the north chancel aisle must of necessity have been carried up above the level of the nave aisle with a gabled roof, in order to secure light. Without such an arrangement, both chapel and aisle would have been almost in darkness. The view of the cloister garth gives this suggested restoration.

How the south transept was treated we have no evidence to show. Probably, as at Chester, it was retained, and for constructional reasons it was necessary to keep it, whether rebuilt or not, in order to provide a counterpart for the arches of the crossing.

THE LADY CHAPEL.

Of this portion of the Priory church no single stone is now to be seen *in situ*. The tower of St. Mary's Church occupies part of its site, and whatever indications we have of it are only to be found by the very careful analysis of some few fragments, and by the slender record of the plate

in King's *Vale Royal.* The examination and allocation of these fragments has to be made by the elimination of the sites for them which are found to be impracticable, by the evidence of existing remains, and their fitness for only one purpose and site in the building. Yet, if it be granted that they once belonged to such a building, its details can be recovered with a fair amount of certainty. Also, conversely, if the development of these detached elements can fairly be brought into a complete plan, such a plan will be admitted as having no suitable site in the Priory buildings except as an eastern Lady Chapel.

We may take first the evidence of King's *Vale Royal.* Premising that its rudeness and inartistic drawing have been held previously to be so extreme as to make it valueless as any authority at all, we will take its indications for what they are worth. On the right of the plate is shown a wall, crossing the eastern end of the ruins of the church. It is somewhat low, and is pierced by three ruinous openings eastward. On the northern one is indicated a pier, as though the opening had originally been an arch. Now, if this shows the eastern wall of the chancel, the elevation needed to be such that if a building like a Lady Chapel were set beyond it, there should be room over its roof for the east window of the chancel; consequently the building must have been low, and no lofty, single, eastern arch could be constructed as its entrance. An arcade of three low arches would give room for the window, and these would not rise above the low roof of the chapel. Exeter Cathedral presents such a plan, and it would meet exactly the requirements of Birkenhead.

We will now turn to the existing fragments. They consist of the springers of a groining, with transverse and diagonal ribs of two orders, and

the crown of a groining, with a floriated boss, from which radiate eight ribs. The set of the springing shows side arches slightly segmental; and if the curves taken, together with those of the junction of the ribs, shown by the crown of the arch in the existing boss, be estimated, they give a vaulting cell of 10 feet by 7 feet; the longer axis being that upon the lateral wall. The two horizontal ribs of this boss will show that they lay transversely to the axis of the church, on the crown of the vaulting cell; the two that incline upwards being the longitudinal mid-rib, which, as in the chapter-house at Chester, is not horizontal, but slightly arched between the bosses. The remaining four ribs are those on the angles of the groins, and the springing indicates that the sections or bays of the vaulting were divided by an equilaterally arched rib, forming the arch of a seven-foot span. Thus the groining may be shortly described as quadripartite, with mid-ribs in the crowns of the vaults. The ribs at the springing radiate to right and left, proving that not less than two bays existed.

We have now to endeavour to locate this groining. The nave aisles, we know, were roofed with wood, and within about twenty years a corbel existed in the north aisle wall for carrying the principals. It is not possible to construct a groined central alley with timber-roofed aisles and without flying buttresses, but narrow groined aisles are practicable. It is decisive, therefore, that neither nave nor aisles were groined. The conversion of the north transept into a chapel, or additional aisle, also proves that the chancel was roofed with wood. There is no trace of the cross arches, groining, or counterparts of any sort on the south wall of the chapter-house, that would have been essential to support such a groined roof, borne on walls, supported by arcades. The cloister garth remains, with many corbels for

carrying a timber roof, but no trace of groining. Of the domestic buildings, all remain or are traceable; the groined undercroft of the refectory is perfect, and none of the details of its vaulting agree with the fragments we are considering. The only other possible position for groining would be a porch, and this, if any such existed, would have to be fixed on the south side, as we have evidence of northern and western doors. The proportions of the vault of which we have relics would, with its two bays, form a porch 20 feet long by 7 feet wide; dimensions quite inconsistent with any such structure. We are, therefore, constrained to find for this groining a place in some vanished building.

Let us now return to the indications in the *Vale Royal* plate, and try how they will agree with this vaulting. We have the three ruinous openings leading eastward. If we take three cells of vaulting, each of 7 feet span, arranging them as we know they must have been, with their 7 feet measure transversely to the church, we obtain a width of 21 feet, the same as that of the nave and chancel. Three 10 feet spans, placed longitudinally, give a length of 30 feet for a Lady Chapel, having three alleys of vaulting, each of three bays. To carry these groins four shafts would be necessary, dividing the chapel into centre and aisles. Thus the remains agree with the plate; and we obtain a Lady Chapel of three bays, chancel of three bays, and nave of six bays, giving a harmony of construction. For this groining there is no other place suitable. Formerly the cap of a small vaulting shaft and part of the shaft were visible in the ruins. These are, unfortunately, now lost. They may have belonged to this building. The fact that the vault, as adapted to the east end of the church, must have been carried on columns, indicates a desire to keep the roof low. A single

span of vaulting would have required a much greater elevation. The building would thus allow the eastern window to clear it. The low eastern wall, taken down to the sill of such window, is shown in the engraving.

We turn again to the comparison of the Chester Lady Chapel. We find it to be of three bays to the east of the chancel. The vault is in one span, as there is height enough in the chancel to permit its window to clear the roof, and the chapel is entered by a single lofty arch. Each building has some features in common, but each is adapted to its site. Let us assume that this analysis is correct for the Birkenhead chapel, and that these fragments have disclosed to us the character and dimensions of a feature of the Priory that has ceased to exist. It is worth while to investigate how far such a building bears relation to the general measurements of the church and its surroundings. We have already seen that the breadth is in agreement with that of the church, but much more is shown than this, for it completes the symmetrical measures of the church in a very remarkable way, giving exactly 77 feet for the measure of the nave to the centre of the crossing, and 77 feet from this centre to the end of the Lady Chapel. The diagonal lines from the centre of the eastern pier of the crossing to the extreme points of the buttress necessary to bear the thrust of the vault is the same measure; also from the central east window of the chapel to the north-east angle of the chapter-house, the interior length of the chancel, and that of the chapter from the altar of the choir to the east window of the chapel exactly divide the measure of 77 feet. All the other minor measures of this structure also fall accurately into those of the general scheme of measurements of the whole building.

The thickness of the walls of this building has been laid down on the plan as being the same as that found in the rest of the buildings, and the estimate so taken causes the structure to respond to all tests of proportion correctly; such response and completion of the plans by this conjectural rehabilitation of the chapel, as fitted together from the fragments, being strong presumptive confirmation of the accuracy of the deductions derived from the analysis. If we take the scheme of groining as following that of the chapter-house at Chester, the number of the bosses at the intersections of the diagonal ribs would be nine; the transverse ribs, forming the span of the alleys, would be without bosses. We have one boss remaining, which belongs to the centre of a vaulting cell.

THE GUEST HOUSE.

It will have been remarked that all the parts of the Priory hitherto treated of have been those strictly belonging to its conventual requirements. None of these are appropriate to the accommodation of the travellers who used the ferry, worked by the monks. We have seen that the dormitory was just sufficient for the use of the eighteen monks, nor was there in the rest of this part of the structure any other suitable housing; yet we know that up to the reign of Edward III, when the Prior petitioned to be permitted to build a separate house, in order to avoid the disturbance caused by the travellers to whom hospitality was afforded, they were lodged in the Priory.

A very careful examination, recently made, of the north side of the structure, seems to show that, upon the ground now occupied by the vicarage, a separate courtyard and buildings existed for a guest house, and were part of the original plan, as extended in the thirteenth century.

Although, in a sense, separate from the monastic buildings, they were connected with these by a remarkably clever piece of planning. One of the leading proofs of their existence is the extremely skilful adaptation of the northern portions of the monastic buildings for the addition of a guest house, the plan of which has not hitherto been made out. In this scheme the priory kitchen was common for the service of both monks and travelling guests, yet having contrivances to prevent confusion in its use. This structure projected northward from the eastern end of the north side of the undercroft of the refectory, and faced inwards to a small court, 22 feet square, of which the plinths and their return angles still exist. The kitchen was groined in the same fashion as the existing undercroft, but with a smaller span of the vaulting cells.

The marks of one bay of vaulting remain in the wall, and the picture by Calvely, 1780, shows two bays in depth, having a span of 6 feet 8 inches each, which, with the added thickness of a pillar, to carry the second bay, gives a clear width to the kitchen of 14 feet 10 inches. If we take the length as three bays, their measure will exactly fit and correspond with the east side of the square courtyard, of which the plinth gives us the length of the south side. The thickness of the pillars and walls is estimated at the same measures as the others belonging to the domestic buildings. The stones of such a pillar are set up in a ruined modern summer-house in the refectory.

A fire-place set on the east of the centre bay will bring the outer line of the kitchen exactly level with that of the undercroft. A well-moulded large doorway opens to the undercroft, and the kitchen, doubtless, had two windows and a door to the courtyard. There was a room above the kitchen, opening from the refectory by a small pointed

doorway, still existing; and from the undercroft two original windows opened into the courtyard. The kitchen was massively built of stone. On the west side of the court the plinth shows the junction with the existing south side, but is there broken off. It is, however, plain from the masonry that no thick stone wall existed on the western side, and there is no trace of any stone wall above the height of the plinth. It is plain, therefore, both from this fact and from sockets at proper intervals for timber to be set in the walls, that the building fronting this side of the court was of wood, so far as its front was concerned.

If this piece of building were carried westward as far as the end of the refectory, where sockets near the angle buttress show some timber work to have been attached, we should have a room 22 feet square, with one above it opening from the refectory and occupying an exactly corresponding space to the kitchen and the square court. Slight traces of a doorway, now blocked, formerly entering the upper room, are still discernible in the refectory wall; the lower room, however, must almost certainly have been entered from the courtyard. The structure being of wood, would need a stone chimney and fireplace, and this might remain after the decay and destruction of the timber. In Calvely's drawing (*Transactions*, vol. xlii), a fragment of ruin is shown, just north of the north-west angle of the refectory, which is exactly the place where the hearth and chimney should be set for these rooms. I would suggest that these apartments were those of the lay brethren and attendants. As I hope to show presently, this would be the most suitable, perhaps the only, place the plan affords for the retinue of the Prior.

Immediately to the west of this building, reaching up to the northern end of the Prior's hall

and crossing the west end of the dormitory, are traces of another timber building, stretching northward. Its east wall would run in the same line as that of the prior's hall, but the sockets for its beams adjoining the north door of that apartment show that the width was 20 feet, being thus 7 feet narrower than the Prior's hall. If this structure ran northward to the extent of the northern side of the courtyard, we have an apartment of 20 feet by 44 feet; and the northern side of the whole of these rooms, kitchen, courtyard, room of the lay brethren, and this last building, which I venture to identify as the guesten hall of the Priory, would be bounded by one straight line of wall, while each feature would occupy a proportionate and equally measured space, the guesten hall occupying two such spaces. Upon this line of wall the limit of the modern vicarage grounds is fixed; probably the foundations were found convenient for the purpose.

The screens of this guesten hall must have adjoined those of the Prior's hall, separated by the wall of that building; and its passage reached from the undercroft to an external timber porch, to give separate external access to travellers. Next to the Prior's main doorway, marks for its beams remain on the angle buttress. There was a door of communication between the two halls, and this is almost in itself a proof of the existence of the second, or guesten hall, for its splays are turned outwards, proving them to be internal and not external features. The partly existing north gable window of the Prior's hall, and the western one of the dormitory, shown in Calvely's drawing, 1780, open at some height above that of the side walls of the guesten hall, but a high-pitched roof, set in the angle between the dormitory and the Prior's hall, would have somewhat obscured both these

lights. We therefore find in the wall, above the door of communication, sockets for the frame of a flat roof, over the screens, divided into five compartments, each of which has been subdivided by a lesser bearing timber. Probably this roof was leaded. It seems almost certain that the flat roof only extended so far as to clear these windows, and ended over the screens; the rest, extending to the north wall, having a high-pitched roof and gable. It is equally likely that though the flanks of these buildings were timber, their northern gables and the north wall of the courtyard, in which was the gate, as well as those of the lay brothers' rooms and the room above the kitchen, were of stone.

We may return here to the evidences of the print in King's *Vale Royal.* In addition to the gables of still-existing buildings there indicated quite correctly, another is shown towards the north, narrower than the others, and standing exactly in the right position for this guesten hall. Its narrower span throws it a little to the right of the north gable of the Prior's hall, thus exactly agreeing with the traces of the timbered flanks still visible. The gable is clearly of stone, and contains a two-light window. This gable has been supposed to represent the kitchen, but for that apartment it is incorrectly placed. Thus the accuracy of this previously discredited print is proved, by the stones which remain, to be a conscientious representation of the Priory buildings as they stood in 1656, for its testimony is borne out by existing remains; and in spite of its rude and conventional drawing, in perspective and detail, it has furnished the most valuable clues to the interpretation of the existing fragments.

Having so far laid down the main lines for the recovery of these buildings, it may now be shown

how admirably the arrangements for their service fall in with this plan. The western end of the undercroft of the refectory abuts on the ends of the screen passages of both prior's and guests' halls. It is divided off into two smaller apartments at this end, and although the wall separating these is modern, it most likely replaces a wooden partition. In each room are two doors, the one entering from the larger part of the undercroft, the others severally pass into the screen passages of each hall. Thus these two small rooms form serving rooms, and probably also butteries, by which from the kitchen, by way of the undercroft, the two halls could be supplied separately with viands. The Prior's meals passed through the room to the left, those for the guests to the right. From the guests' serving room, on the right hand, there is a square opening that has been closed by a door, through which the food for the lay brethren could be separately handed to them; while just to the right of the entrance was the newel stair, leading up to the monks' refectory. Thus the work of serving the meals to large numbers was at once concentrated, economised, and yet completely separated at the north side; much in the same way as the concentration of access to the church and monastic buildings was adapted to their complete supervision by the Prior on the south side. The arrangement of these features shows not only that they are all consistent parts of the original plan, but their meaning and purpose is disclosed; they are meaningless, unless the existence of the buildings of the north court be granted.

It may be well to point out that the free use of oak in mediæval construction, in combination with stone, for exterior work, is by no means so rare as is apt to be supposed; and not only have we the

analogy of Chester, but we may refer to the still existing wooden dormitory of Basingwerk Abbey, to a portion of the conventual buildings at St. Mary's Abbey, York, and to the dormitory and other buildings at the great and wealthy Abbey of Selby, which were beautiful and elaborate work of the thirteenth century, closely corresponding with Birkenhead in being set on a groined undercroft, with an upper stage of timber. These stood nearly perfect till the year 1812. There is little doubt that the Birkenhead refectory was also timber at the sides, with stone gables. The side walls of stone, with their square windows, as seen at present in the upper floor above the groining, are of very recent origin, probably as late as the eighteenth century. They are very rude and inferior work, but of old material, and they were, doubtless, built under the ancient framed roof shown in the print of 1656, as the wooden sides decayed.

In the site of the guest house there is, however, a certain disadvantage of position that enables us to understand why the new hostel was eventually erected for travellers, separately from the Priory. The guests' hall having the prior's hall at its screen end and the lay brothers' apartments at its side, the former divided only by a door, the noise and revelling of the travellers disturbed the Prior on one hand and his servants on the other; and we can well imagine, when the hall was occupied, during the visit of Edward I, in 1277, and during the Welsh and Irish wars, by soldiery in transit, that the monastic seclusion would be somewhat rudely broken. We know that at Birkenhead were kept the king's waggons, and that the Prior had charge of them; therefore he had much to do with land as well as ferry traffic.

Thus I have tried to set out the complete plan of our ancient and beautiful Priory. No portion of this has been based wholly on conjecture, but for every part attempted to be recovered there is some material trace or some authority existing, which has served for the interpretation and reasoning out of the original details. Fortunately most of the detached fragments are extremely characteristic, and they lend themselves easily to their logical allotment to their proper places in the design. It remains only to notice certain detached fragments that supply us with many of the details of the buildings, though some of these cannot be placed with absolute certainty:—

1. The first is half the trefoiled head of a small arcade, boldly moulded, which may belong to such a feature flanking each side of the western door, but it is almost equally suitable for the niche of a piscina, though its weathered condition seems to mark it as external work.

2. Two pieces of window tracery, giving the springings of at least three acutely pointed lights, though probably the window had four lights. The main tracery is intersecting, with a sub-order of trefoiled lights and a trefoil in the head—a very beautiful composition. This is very possibly, from its high finish and moulded main order of tracery, a portion of the east window of the chancel.

3. Two shafts, with hollowed faces and moulded caps of small projection, with an attachment in the rear, that have formed part of a wall panelling, similar to that in the chapel of Beaumaris Castle. This is internal work. It might form panelling at the west end of the nave, or be part of the lower part of the sedilia.

4. Three fragments of very rich tracery, not portions of windows or adapted for glazing. They

are foliated and sub-foliated, and may have formed open-work canopies for the sedilia. Their character would be consistent with the preceding fragments, and they could both have formed part of the same work.

5. Five half single lights, with remains of cusped tracery, not prepared for glazing; which may be allotted to the cloister lights. All these have been beaten in at the vertex of the arch by violence, and this seems to show that they filled square-headed openings in the cloister; the ashlar having been first thrown off the lights, the tracery and mullions were beaten out by breaking the junction of the pointed lights.

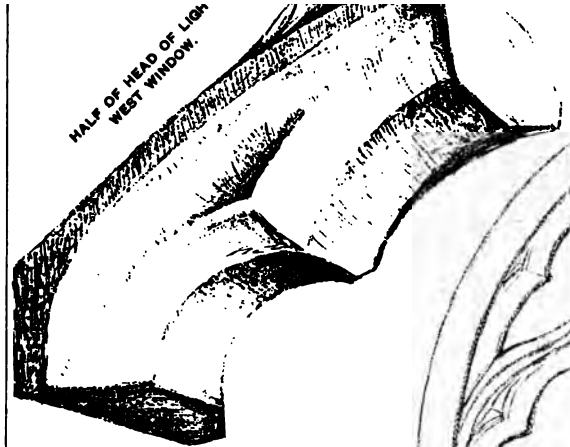
6. Two fragments of mullions of west window, having roll mould filleted on the exterior, and splayed within. A similar mullion, of smaller dimensions, differing from section of No. 2, but still part of a large window; possibly to be allotted to the south transept. Piece of a mullion of a large window, with shallow hollow on the chamfers on the interior and exterior. This is like late work, and may be part of some post-Reformation alteration. Also, built up in the refectory, two or three pieces of the post-Reformation window of the Prior's hall; two pieces of a late perpendicular hood mould; two unidentified jambs.

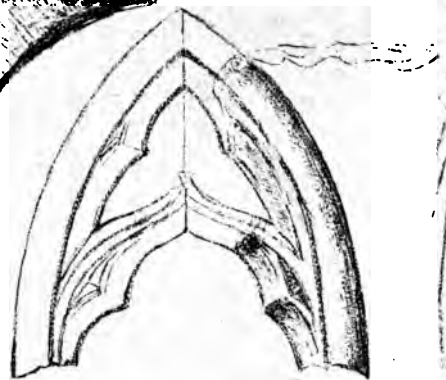
7. A small boss, apparently the terminal of a hood mould of a gabled buttress, possibly from the west end of the church. Also a stone that seems to have been part of such a gabling, and a plain piece of coping with a sloping weathering.

8. Two pieces of the font bowl, Norman.

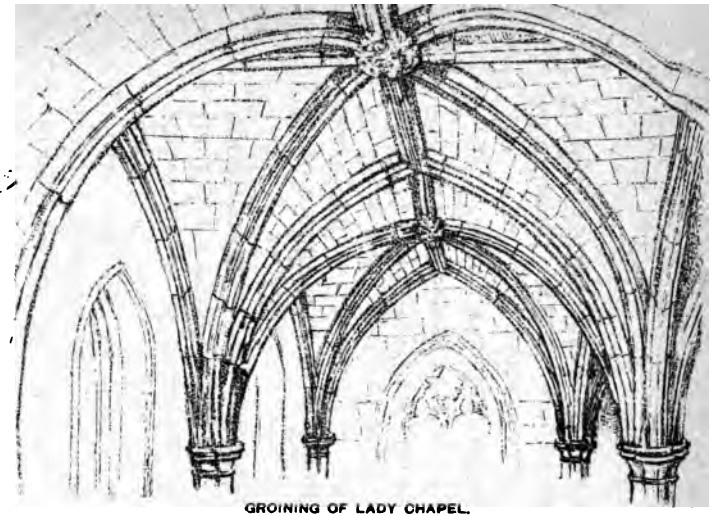
9. Numerous ledger stones, with incised crosses.

10. Two voussoirs of very finely moulded arches, of different section; one of early English character, probably from the doorways of the church.

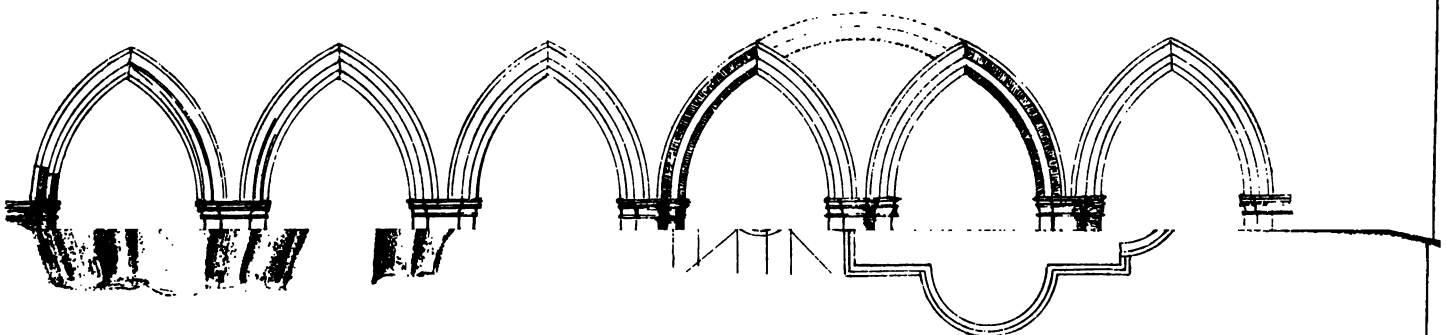




PORTION OF WINDOW HEAD.
CLOISTERS.



GROINING OF LADY CHAPEL.
EXISTING PORTION SHADED.



BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.—ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.

11. Jambs of windows of similar section; splayed, but differing in size; possibly from side windows of the church. Two of these seem to show that the glass (as in the west window) was fitted in wooden frames.

12. A capital and several pieces of small round shafts, from jambs of church doors.

13. Half a capital of nave pier, set as a threshold in the gate to cloisters.

14. The bases of two of the shafts of the clustered columns of the nave.

15. Piece of moulded cornice of Prior's room, with ball flower ornament; and head of post-Reformation door of upper floor, that fell about six years ago.

In addition to these, several carved heads, made when St. Mary's Church was built, and also the top of the spire, removed during repairs made a few years ago, are mingled with the ancient stones, and it is desirable that these should not be confused with them. From the sorting of these various ancient fragments, it has been possible to re-construct the lost portions of the Priory with fair accuracy of detail.

THE TEST OF DOMINANT MEASURES.

So far we have dealt chiefly with the remaining building and its loose fragments, giving their apparent purposes and fitting them together like the pieces of a dissected map; and we may call in now another test of the accuracy of our conclusions. Were we able to know with absolute completeness the principles and codes by which the mediæval masons worked, they would form a complete key to most ancient designs. Investigations in this direction have recently been undertaken, to which it has been my privilege to contribute in a small

degree. We may, therefore, try how far the theory of proportionate dimensions, which is one of these principles, will apply to our work.

What agreement is to be found between the system of measures in existing parts of the Priory and this evolved plan of the missing features? Plainly, the chief dominant measure here found is seven, though there are, as usual, sub-dominants of five, which apply to distances, and of three, which are used for details. We may confine this examination to the application of the number seven. By taking first a set of measures of existing remains, we find this number rules quite clearly. If we apply the same rule to the recovered features laid down in the plan, we shall also find that they answer entirely to the same test. And, lastly, if we sum these together and examine the combined measurements of the two former as a whole, it will be found that they supplement each other; and not only does the system correspond in both, but the scheme is filled and completed, as regards its whole measures, by the addition of the recovered parts. Not only are the existing and the lost portions in harmony, but the whole has gained meaning and unity both in purpose and measured proportion.

Taking first the existing measures, we have measures of 70 feet as follows:—Exterior west end of nave to interior wall of transept; door of Prior's apartments to inner side west wall of chapter-house; centre wall of north aisle to centre wall of refectory; entrance door to cloisters to north end of Prior's hall; outside length of refectory; north-east corner of refectory to centre wall of chapter-house; cloister garth, north to south, centre of wall. Measures of 77 feet:—Length of Prior's hall and rooms; centre of cloister garth to centre of east wall of church; Prior's door to

north-east angle of cloister; Prior's door to north-west corner of refectory; outer side of cloister court, west side to traces of wall of parlour; centre of chapter-house to passage to Prior's hall, exterior; north side of cloister to western respond in north aisle of church. All these are ascertainable measures.

Now, we will take an intermediate set of measures into the lost parts, from known ones. Prior's chapel, north, to southern buttress of west front of church, 70 feet; from same buttress to angle of passage, Prior's hall, 77 feet; from door of Prior's hall to centre of south-west respond of nave, 77 feet; from Prior's house door to south aisle outer wall, 70 feet; centre of cloister garth to centre of south nave arcade 70 feet; north wall (centre) of chapter-house to south wall (centre) of crossing, 70 feet; north-east door of nave to east buttress sacristy aisle, 70 feet; east inner jamb of north-east nave door to centre of Lady Chapel, 77 feet; from west transept wall to third bay of Lady Chapel, where would be the altar steps, 77 feet; north inner wall of north transept to centre of wall of south transept, 77 feet; centre of great piers of crossing to centre of north chapter-house wall, 70 feet. These are all measures from known and existing points to points in the recovered plan.

Lastly, we will take the measures that apply to the plan we have built up from fragments, having no place in existing work. Centre of west front to centre of church, 77 feet; centre of church to altar of Lady Chapel, 77 feet; diagonal line of chancel, north-west to south-east and north-east to south-west, 77 feet (over aisles); diagonals from centre of eastern piers of crossing to eastern buttresses of Lady Chapel, 77 feet; opening of transept arches to east end of Lady Chapel, 70 feet; length of chancel aisles, 35 feet (half 70); openings of nave

and chancel arches, 7 feet; width of aisles, 7 feet; width of nave centre to centre of arcades, 21 feet (three times 7); width of aisles, with walls, 10 feet 6 inches (together 21 feet); width of cloister walks, east and south, 14 feet; breadth of Lady Chapel, 21 feet (three bays, 7 feet span).

Thus all the measures agree in system. Even the recovered tower piers show that the measures go into detail, though I have only given, so far, greater measures. They are planned on a square of 28 inches, set on one of 42 inches—four times seven and six times seven respectively. The projecting member of the column is 18 inches, the cross-pieces 14 inches by 10 inches, 28 inches together and 28 inches wide. The detached shafts are 7 inches to the keel; they stand on a diagonal line, 14 inches from the centre.

So, having first attempted to read the broken and imperfect score, we at length strike the known key-note of seven, the ruling measure of the whole design, and then, out of the now silent and unknown, vibrate the responsive harmonies of "the lost chord."

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was written, the restoration of the west front, as shown in the plate, has been subjected to the further test of its harmonic measurements, and these are based upon the number three. Also, it has been set upon its tracing board, consisting of quadrilateral compartments, with their diagonals, in accordance with the principles of planning used, it is believed, by the ancient masons. The result has been to confirm by these means, its measures, proportions, and design in every particular, as coinciding with the developments derived from its few remains.

ALABASTER CARVED PANELS AT LYDIATE: THE LEGEND OF ST. KATHERINE.

By the Reverend Edward Powell.

Read 22nd Februury, 1894.

INTRODUCTION.

IN bringing before this Society the legend of St. Katherine, I may premise, that the Catholic Church does not bind her subjects to believe in any particular miracle, nor in the historical statements made in the Breviary. We receive the lessons of the second Nocturn of the Divine Office, in which a succinct history of the saint of that day is given, with respect, on account of the learning and great care employed; but we are perfectly allowed to accept or reject them, if, after mature study, we think them untenable. From the times of the Apostles, the faithful met for prayer and for the recitation of the Psalms; and when St. Jerome published his more accurate translation of the Holy Scriptures, though the other books were at once accepted, yet the book of Psalms, which many knew by heart, was kept in the older and more familiar form. In the earliest centuries of the Christian era, St. Athanasius, St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian mention, that the observance of certain hours of prayer was general. It was probably St. Jerome, by the command of Pope Damasus (died 366), who arranged the division of the scriptures and lessons in better order. In the time of St. Pius V (1566), the Breviary was arranged as now. It was slightly revised under Clement VIII, in 1592,

with Bellarmine and Baronius on the commission; and, finally, under Urban VIII, in 1623.

The *Menalogium Basilianum*, which is a chronicle of the saints, compiled for the use of the Emperor Basil I, who died in 886, gives the following account:—

"The martyr Aikaterina was the daughter of a rich and noble chieftain of Alexandria. She was very beautiful, and being at the same time highly talented, she devoted herself to Grecian literature, and to the study of the languages of all nations, and so became wise and learned. When it happened that the Greeks held a festival in honour of their idols, seeing the slaughter of the animals thereat, she was so greatly moved that she went to the King Maximinus, and expostulated with him in these words: 'Why hast thou left the Living God to worship lifeless idols?' But the emperor caused her to be thrown into prison, and to be punished severely. He then ordered fifty orators to be brought, and bade them to reason with Aikaterina, and confute her; threatening to burn them all, if they should fail to overpower her. The orators, however, when they saw themselves vanquished, received baptism, and were burnt forthwith. She, on the contrary, was beheaded."

Few, indeed, are the records of those early times; natural enough when we bear in mind the frightful destruction of books in the East, caused by the Turks especially. The Library of Alexandria was said to contain 700,000 MSS., and after the city was captured by Caliph Omar, in 640, the baths were heated by them for six months, we are told. Tradition is one of the strongest evidences of a nation's heroes; and it was with a feeling akin, that peoples kept alive the memory of those who had been victors over torture for their Lord's sake. Our own St. George excited the devotion he did, mainly by the tradition of his victory over the world and over torture; and though he was martyred about 303, it was only at the end of the twelfth century that he became known in England, and in 1222 his festival ordered to be kept. The tradition of little St. Hugh of Lincoln was kept

alive from the year 1255 by a ballad, and it was only in 1791 that a tomb with "Parvus S'tus Hugo" was discovered in the south aisle of Lincoln Cathedral, exactly corroborating the tradition handed down.

Capgrave, in his *Chron. of England*, Ap., p. 339 (about 1480), gives as his authority for his poem on St. Katherine, that a priest called Arrick, for many years parson at St. Pancras, London, out of love and devotion to St. Katherine, went to Greece and Cyprus; and strove for eighteen years to learn the Grecian language, and to discover all about St. Katherine. His labours were at length rewarded by finding in Cyprus a book, that had been hidden by Amylon Fitz Amarick, one hundred years before. This book was written in Greek by one Athanasius, who had been Katherine's teacher, but who was afterwards converted by her to the Christian faith, and he was present at her martyrdom. This Arrick translated the Greek life into Latin; and, at his death, Capgrave wrote from that narrative his poem on St. Katherine. St. Katherine is also inscribed in the calendar of the Church of England, and several churches and institutions in London and elsewhere were dedicated to her.

If we take into account, in addition to these scanty gleanings from a time of which few works survive, the learning and extreme care shown by the various commissions appointed by the Holy See, the authority of Baronius, Asseman, and Natalis Alexander, I think we must deem it very probable that the chief events of her life, as narrated, are based upon good authority.

LEGEND OF ST. KATHERINE.

When those lands that lay east of the Rhine rose against subjection to Rome, and their peoples

refused to pay tribute any more, Constantius Chlorus (or the pale-faced) was sent unto them. It was rather by his justice, and by his mild and gentle ways, than by arms, that he subdued them. They wished to have him as their king, and he married the only daughter of their king, and by her he had a son named Costus. But soon after the birth of the boy, his wife died, to the great sorrow of that nation that loved her much. But in the north-west, Allectus, the pilot and commander of the Roman fleet in those stormy seas, rose in rebellion, and proclaimed himself Cæsar in Britain; and Constantius was sent thither. He captured what is now Boulogne, and took many ships. He passed over the sea, and Allectus was slain in battle. The people hailed him as deliverer, rather than as conqueror. He won their hearts to love him; and he married Helena, by some said to be a daughter of Coil, a king in Britain. Their son was Constantine the Great, who delivered Rome from the tyranny and cruelty of Maxentius.

Now Costus, the half-brother of Constantine, grew up, and he married Sabellina, the only daughter of the king of Cyprus. They had one daughter, whom they named Katherine, and, it is said, that the mother saw a glory of light shine about the head of the child. Katherine, as she grew up, minded not foolish things, but she loved learning. When 15 years of age, she had drunk in plentifully of the well of wisdom; for she had read Plato, and her favourite was Socrates; and from these she began to know about her soul, and to sigh after a doctrine more pure than that of heathenesse. But then her father died, and the nobles and wise men of the court did beseech her to choose unto herself a husband, that might rule the people, and be their leader in war. But Katherine loved much her maidenhood, and hankered not after the

love of man, nor after things of earth; and she said in answer, that she would not be joined in wedlock to any man, unless he were her equal in riches, and learning, and fair form. They and her mother were grieved at this answer, for they knew not where to seek for one, that should be such. But the mother and daughter came to Alexandria, and there the mother heard, that a very holy man dwelt not far from the city in the desert, and his name was Adrian. The mother besought her daughter to go and take counsel from this holy hermit. To him they went, and the mother told him that her daughter would espouse none, save such as she had described. This holy man told her that he knew of One, Who far surpassed Katherine in wisdom, and in riches, and in fair form; and that He was willing to accept her as His spouse. Then a great longing came into the heart of Katherine to know this One: and the monk gave her a picture of the Virgin Mother, and of her Divine Son, and bade her pray to them, that God might teach her His holy will. That night, as Katherine prayed, she saw a vision of many angels, with chaplets of white lilies and others of red roses, who seemed to bid her follow them. This did Katherine right gladly; and at length they came into the presence of one, who was fair beyond all she had thought of. To her the angels said: "Our most gracious Sovereign Lady, "Empress of Heaven and Mother of the King of "Blessedness, be pleased that we here present to "you our dear sister, whose name is written in the "Book of Life, beseeching you of your benign "grace, to receive her as your daughter and hand-"maiden." Then that blessed Lady led Katherine to her Divine Son, and said: "Most sovereign "honour, joy, and glory be to you, King of Bles-"sedness, my Lord and my Son, lo! I have brought "to your blessed presence your servant and maid

"Katherine, who for love of you hath renounced "all things of earth." But the Lord turned away His head, and refused her, saying: "She is not "fair or beautiful enough for Me." Then Katherine felt herself again in her chamber, and she passed the night in great sorrow and much weeping. In the morning early, she hastened with her mother to the hermit, and told him of her vision, and asked him, "What must I do, that I may be made beau-"tiful and worthy of my heavenly Bridegroom?" Then the holy man taught her the Christian faith, and how God made man holy and good, but that he sinned and left God; and that God the Son came from heaven, and took the nature of man, and that He applies to the souls of men His precious blood, to cleanse them by means of the Sacraments; and that the first of these, Baptism, would make her soul pure and adorn it fairly with God's grace, and then she would be beautiful in His eyes. Then Katherine begged for baptism, and her mother too; and the holy man granted them what they asked, and poured the waters over them in the name of the Blessed Trinity.

The next night, as Katherine prayed, again she saw as she had done the night before; but now our Lady said, "Lo! she has been baptized, and I "myself have been her godmother." Then the Lord smiled on her, and held out His hand to her, and put a ring on her finger. In the morning, she beheld on her finger the ring He had given her, and a great love for her heavenly Bridegroom came into her heart, and she would look upon herself only as His betrothed, and she despised all earthly power, and her delight was to study Holy Writ and the Christian faith. And she gave up all her sovereignty, and she won the minds of all her household, to believe and love as she did. Then her mother was taken from her by death, and she was left alone.

At that time Maximin, called by the Greeks Maxentius, ruled over Egypt, and was made Cæsar by his uncle Galerius. He was very cruel to his subjects, and he would also persecute those that owned Christ as their Saviour. He commanded all to sacrifice to his false gods, or to suffer death. When it came to the ears of Katherine, she commended herself to God, and then went to the temple, and there addressed Cæsar; and showed him how foolish it was to adore statues made by the hands of man, but that he should rather adore the one God Almighty, who made the earth, the sun and stars. Maximin was confounded at her arguments, and he bade her, to be kept a prisoner in his palace; and then he sent letters to all men well versed in learning and cunning, and commanded them to come on a day appointed, and dispute with a Christian; and that he would give rich reward to any one who would prove the gods of Rome to deserve worship, and confound this Christian. They came, but they took it much amiss, when they found that it was only a maiden of 18 years of age, that they were summoned to confute. At the time appointed, and in the presence of the Cæsar, they gave eloquent praises of their Pagan gods; and then Katherine commended herself to God, and she proved from Plato and from Socrates the existence of the soul, and of one God Almighty, and she proved from the books of the Sybils how this God would reveal Himself to man. She then said, "You admire "this temple wrought by the hands of men, these "statues that look as if they might almost speak "and breathe, these jewels flashing in their bright-"ness: admire rather Him Who created the temple "of the universe, Who placed the sun and moon in "the heavens, Who created man in His own image, "and Who has studded the heavens with those bright "stars. They obey His voice, for they move ever

"in their course; they set in the west, and again "they arise unto us in the east. The moon wanes "and fills again. All these things pass and change; "but He Who created them changes not, He is ever "One—Eternal—and by Him all things live and "move. This is the God that is worthy indeed of "adoration, not senseless idols that have eyes and "see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not. "This is the God that the Christians adore. He "is worthy of adoration, and He fills the hearts of "His children with love for Him."

Her looks were as of one inspired; and the philosophers felt their souls stirred. Boldly they declared they believed in the God of the Christians, and in Christ His Son, who had come upon earth. Then the tyrant bade them to be burnt to death; but they grieved that they could not receive baptism. But Katherine told them not to be sad; for shedding their blood for Christ would be accounted to them as baptism of love, and the flames as a crown of glory. Consoled and encouraged by her, they bravely went to death, and all perished in the flames.

Then Maximin had to go forth again to war; but he bade Porphyrius, his general, to keep the virgin in prison for twelve days without food, that she might die. But it happened that, as God had sent Habacuc to Daniel in the den of lions to carry unto him food, so he sent an angel to minister unto Katherine. And a great desire came into the Empress Augusta to see this virgin, at whom all marvelled; so she and Porphyrius came to the prison. They saw there a wondrous light, and felt a strange sweet fragrance. Then Katherine spake to them of the love of God for man, and they felt their hearts stirred within them; and after she had taught them, they sought baptism.

When the Emperor returned from his wars; he again strove to seduce the holy virgin by promises

of great rewards, and when she despised them, he commanded that she should be scourged. Her body was bedewed with her blood; but amidst all her sufferings she smiled, and said how gladly she suffered for Him, Who had been scourged for her. That night she was consoled by a vision of Christ, and the smart of her many wounds was healed. Then the Prefect of the city stirred up the Emperor to have a fearful engine made, that should have four wheels, two armed with spikes that should tear her flesh downwards, and two with saws that should move upwards. But when Katherine was placed in the midst thereof, she prayed that, though she feared not to suffer, God might shew forth His might before so great a concourse, and destroy the engine. At her words, the machine was, as it were, struck, and it was broken to pieces, and they fell upon the executioners, and wounded or killed them. At this sight, Augusta and Porphyrius boldly proclaimed their faith; and bade the tyrant yield obedience to the God of the Christians Who wrought such wonders. But his heart was hardened, and he gnashed his teeth with rage, and bade that the Empress and Porphyrius should both die at once by the axe. Katherine bade them be of good courage, for after short pain they should have great bliss.

Once more the Emperor tried to make Katherine sacrifice, and promised her, that he would make her Empress, and that she should share his throne; but she replied—"Shall I forsake my glorious "heavenly Spouse to unite myself with thee, who "art base-born, wicked, and deformed?" At these words Maximin roared like a lion in his wrath, and bade her be led forth from the city, and there have her head struck off. She begged the executioner to tarry a while, and she prayed, "Come my Lord, "my Life, my beloved One, take me to Thyself," and then she bent her neck, and at one smite of the

axe her head was severed. Then angels carried her body to Mount Sinai and there buried it; and wondrous oil flowed in after times from her tomb, and it gave healing to those that were in pain.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CARVED PANELS.

The following passage, dealing with the subject of such carvings, from the pen of an accomplished antiquary, Professor Middleton, of Cambridge, has been brought to my notice since reading my paper, and I feel that I cannot do better than insert it here:—

"During the fifteenth century a great many churches, in various parts of England, seem to have purchased for one or more of their altars a re-table made of the beautiful cream-white alabaster, quarried at Chellaston in Derbyshire, which, when free from yellow stains, is now very scarce and only obtainable in very small pieces. Nottingham appears to have been one of the chief centres of the manufacture of these alabaster reliefs, as has been pointed out by Mr. St. John Hope. (*Pro. Soc. Antiq.*, 1890, p. 131, and *Archæol.*, vol. lii., p. 679.) A considerable number of these re-tables, in a more or less fragmentary state, still exist, and they form very common items in ecclesiastical inventories of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries, under various names, such as 'alabaster tables,' 'tabuls' or 'tabylls,' 'tabulæ de alabastro,' 'tablementes,' 're-tables,' and 'alabaster 'tabernacles with images.' From their great uniformity of style, it is evident that in most cases they have been produced by one school of carvers; and a large number have clearly come out of the same Nottingham workshop. This strong uniformity of design is to be seen, not only in the style of the faces and the lines of the drapery, but also in the minutest details, such as the method of distinguishing each saint by his special symbol. The same similarity of treatment is to be seen in the application of gold and colour, with which they are all decorated, especially the patterns on the dresses, the 'powderings' on the backgrounds, and the manner of representing the ground in open air scenes with conventionally-treated groups of flowers in red, white. and yellow on a rich green background, which seems intended to suggest a grassy sward. The gilding is very rich and effective, much thicker leaf being used than is now the custom; and it is very freely used for the hair of saints and angels, for borders of drapery, for angels' wings, and other ornamental purposes. If a whole background of a relief is gilt, the surface is relieved (in

most cases) by being sprinkled by a series of little round bosses, modelled in the very delicate *gesso*, or plaster, mixed with white of egg, which formed the 'mordant' for the gold leaf. This fine plaster is a pure sulphate of lime, obtained by burning waste fragments of the same alabaster of which the reliefs themselves were made: an exceptionally pure variety of what is now called 'plaster of Paris.' The pigments used for the painting are very rich and harmonious in tone. Ochre colours are used for the quieter reds, yellows, and browns; mercury vermillion for the brilliant reds; and a magnificent smalto blue, made of a powdered vitreous enamel, coloured with a copper oxide—exactly like the jewel-like blue which was used by the early painters of Egypt and Greece.

"In general designs these re-tables seem usually to have consisted of a large central figure—such as that of the Madonna and Child—with, at the sides, single figures of saints, of a medium size, placed between reliefs of subjects wtth figures very minute in scale. The relief is usually very high *(alto-relievo)*; in many cases the figures are so much undercut as to be almost 'in the 'round' or detached from the ground. These re-tables were frequently fitted with wooden doors, which could be closed during Lent. When there were no doors, the re-tables were covered with hangings of linen or silk—'steyned clothes for Lent' are common items in inventories.

"In spite of the white, translucent alabaster being so easy to work, it does not appear to have been used at a very early date. Probably the earliest example of its use is to be seen in Westminster Abbey, on the tomb of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, second son of Edward II, who died in 1334, on the south side of the sanctuary in St. Edmund's chapel. The portrait-effigy of the prince and the small figures of mourners in the panels of the altar-tomb are of the purest alabaster, originally gilt and painted.

"With regard to the date of these re-tables, it should be noticed that the costumes and armour are very frequently archaistic in style, and cannot be taken as a proof of the time at which the reliefs were executed. When a mediæval artist represented a scene from ancient history, he usually introduced costume of a century or so older than his own time, to show that the scene was not a modern one. Many of these re-tables were exported to France and Germany. Specimens now exist in Italy and Spain, which are identical in every detail of form and colour with those at Milton and Whittlesford, in Cambridgeshire. In examples, probably executed at Nottingham about 1450, we see armour and dresses of Edward III's time. The alabaster when freshly quarried was very easy to work, and the re-tables were consequently able to be sold at low prices."—*Proceedings of Camb. Antiq. Soc. for 1891.*

St. Katherine's Chapel, commonly, but erroneously, called Lydiate Abbey, was built by Lawrence Ireland, as a private chapel, about 1485. It was dedicated to the patron saint of his wife, Katherine Blundell, of Little Crosby: and their initials still remain on the hoodmould corbels of the porch. The chapel was probably used for divine service, from the time of its erection until about 1567, when the famous letter of Queen Elizabeth, dated Feb. 21 of that year, compelled Downham, the Bishop of Chester, to put a stop to Catholic services, and forced the Lancashire magistrates, who loathed persecution, to interfere with their Catholic neighbours. These panels, depicting the legend of St. Katherine, were, in all probability, executed by the Nottingham school of carvers (who were, we know, working at the time the chapel at Lydiate was built), for the re-table over the altar there. After the services were discontinued and the chapel abandoned; they were very likely removed to Lydiate Hall close by, where, at all events, they had remained from time immemorial, until the new Church of Our Lady was built at Lydiate, in 1854; when the four panels, representing the legend of St. Katherine, and the figure of St. Cuthbert (probably rescued from the church at Halsall, bearing his name) were inserted in the pulpit there.

I. The first of these panels is about 20 inches by 10½ inches. At the top are four philosophers (one mutilated), who came to dispute with St. Katherine, and two courtiers. On the left is a guard or jailer, with ferocious features, one of his hands resting on the shoulder of St. Katherine, who stands calm and beautiful, with a crown upon her head, to shew her rank as Princess; her long hair flowing down below her waist, unbound, to express her maidenhood. Opposite to her is Maximin, rising from a chair or throne, crowned, to shew he was Cæsar,

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LEGEND OF ST KATHARINE

with a sword (mutilated) in his hand; and a dragon rising from, and couching on his head, to express the evil spirit urging him on to persecute those professing the Christian faith. Between them, a little below, is a jailer thrusting one of the philosophers into the flames. He is going without any attempt at resistance, but turns towards the saint, as if to implore her prayers, that he may fight the good fight. At the bottom are faggots, with the heads of three that have been burnt; and at the sides are two dwarfs, descriptive of vindictive and merciless spirit, one poking a head into the faggots with a square-headed pikel, the other blowing the flames with a bellows. The latter especially has a face wonderfully expressive of brutality and sensuousness. In this panel are distinct traces of colouring and of gold. The robe of one philosopher has been red, as have the lips of all the males, and the winged dragon also. The saint's crown has been gilt. On the field, part of which is broken away, appear four groups of six spots each, a characteristic of the Nottingham school of carvers.

II. The second panel is 18 in. by 11½ in. Above is our Blessed Lord with nimbus, shewing signs of colour. He is sculptured with long hair and pointed beard, both of which have been gilt, and vested (I think) in alb and cope. The hands are mutilated, but seem to have been extended over the saint, shewing His protection of her. She wears a crown, but is stripped to the waist; cords are around the upper parts of her arms; her hands are extended in prayer. On each side of her is a wheel with cutting appliances, and an executioner holding each handle to make the dreadful engine revolve, one turned towards her, the other with his face averted. There are five other executioners, two holding the engine as if to steady it, another raises his hand as if to protect his head,

because the legend stated, that at her prayers the engine was broken to pieces, and killed some of these men. The artist depicts one piece as striking the man at St. Katherine's right hand; another seems to be running from the danger, but he is struck at the back of the head; a third is crouching to escape, but a piece falls on the summit of his head. The lips of the executioners have been coloured red. On the field, which is green, and background are eleven groups of six spots each.

III. The third panel is 17 in. by 11 in. At the top are two mutilated figures, one holding apparently a sword; then a hideous executioner with a halbert. On the left are two female attendants of the saint; and kneeling is St. Katherine, her face upturned towards heaven, looking calm and even joyous, before she lays her head down to fall under the executioner's axe. The stump, or block seems to represent two parts of a tree, the lower division with eight buds or flowers, the upper with seven (detached). The saint's crown has been gilt, and her hair brown. On the green field are three groups of six spots. Above, but apart from this is a canopy, 10½ in. by 5½ in., of most delicate and exquisite tracery.

IV. The fourth panel is 18 in. by 11 in., and represents the entombment of the saint. One attendant bears (I think) a cross (but mutilated), or holds a crozier, another has a book, another has the head broken off. The central figure is reading the service from a book, and in his right hand what I imagine to be a bunch of hyssop with eight buds on it, often used for an "aspergillum." All these have wings, bearing out the legend that she was buried on Mount Sinai by angels: it is evident they are angels—not monks, as is stated in *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*—as they are all crowned. One of the angels at the end has hold of the shroud,

Nº 3.

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LEGEND OF ST. BACHARINE

No. 4.

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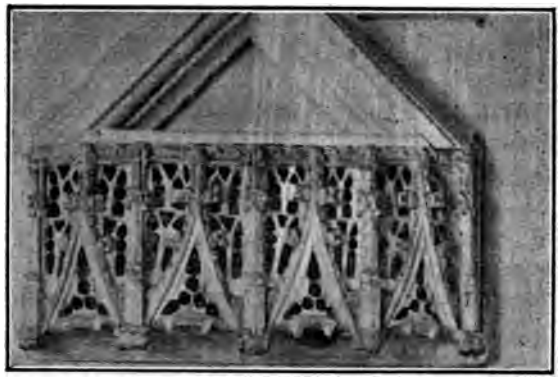
LEGEND OF ST KATHARINE

knotted over the martyr's head; the other holds the other part of the shroud, and the two are depositing the body in a stone sarcophagus, from which flow two streams of oil into vases in front. The canopy above this is mutilated. The upper part of the background has been gilt; the wings of the angels show traces of gilding and red and blue colours. The staff of the cross has been gilt. On the field and background are nine groups of six spots each.



CANOPY FROM ONE OF THE CARVED PANELS IN LYDIATE CHURCH.

Capgrave mentions this oil thus—

"Thou gave to John, Lord, the great Evangelist
"Thyn owyn presens, when he hens shuld weende
"That same presens rygkt evene as thou lyst
"Thou gave this mayde at hir lyves eende
"A welle of oil eke thou wuld hir sende
"Oute of hir grave as had Seynt Nicolas,
"And for her clennesse thou graunted her that graas."

As to St. Catherine's Well, near Edinburgh, a document is given in the *Third Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 406, which states:—

"Nocht two miles fra Edinburgh is ane fontane "dedicat to St. Katrine, quhair sternis of oulie "springis ithandlie with sic aboundance that how-"beit the samien be gaderit away it springs incon-

"tinent with great aboundance. This fontane "rais throw ane drop of Sanct Katrine's oulie "quhilk was brocht out of Mount Sanai fra her "sepulture to Sanct Margaret the blissit Queen of "Scotland. Als sone as Sanct Margaret saw the "oulie spring ithandlie by divine miracle, in the "same place scho gert big ane Chapell in the "honour of Sanct Katrine. This oulie has ane "singulare vertue aganis all maner of canker and "skawis." King James IV made a pilgrimage to it in 1504, and made an offering in St. Katrine's of the "Oly Well"; and in 1617 James VI ordered the building to be repaired, to afford easy access to the oily matter floating on the surface, which continued to be prized for the cure of certain diseases.

With regard to the place of her burial, Richard Pococke (London, 1743—p. 144), in his *Description of the East*, writes:—

"From that they ascend very high to the S.W. "up to the Mount of St. Catherine, and on the "summit of it pretend to show the print in the "rock where the body of the saint lay; who, being "tied to a wheel at Alexandria, under the Emperor "Maxentius, in order to be put to death, it is said "the wheel snapped in pieces; and she being after-"wards beheaded, her body (according to her prayer "that it should not fall into the hands of infidels), "they say, was carried by angels to the top of this "mountain, and was brought by the monks to the "convent soon after it was finished. About a third "of the way up is the Spring of Partridges, which "the Calvyers say was discoverd by partridges who "flew after the body; when the monks who brought "it down resting there, and suffering from thirst, "the birds all went to the spring, by which means, "as they say, the monks also found water."

The scene of the martyrdom of St. Katherine was in Alexandria, that city founded by Alexander

the Great in B.C. 332. Its architect was Dinocrates, builder of the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus. This city, resting on the confines, I may say, of three continents, became second only to imperial Rome. For nigh 1000 years (till 616) it was the greatest seaport of the old world.

In the centre of the pulpit in which these carved panels are, is now set the statue of a bishop. He has the old Gothic mitre and chasuble, crozier, buskins and gloves. One hand holds the crozier, the other hand is raised, as if in the act of blessing. Partly under the left foot is a small animal, but the head being broken off, I cannot say what it is. This statue may represent St. Cuthbert; and, if so, this animal will be an otter, which, according to the *Christliche Kunstsymbolik*, was one of his emblems. The church at Halsall was dedicated to St. Cuthbert; as there the shrine was placed, when on its travels, to save it from the Danes. In the same church was, I learn through the indefatigable researches of Mr. T. N. Morton, a chantry at the altar of St. Mary, and another at the altar of St. Nicholas. (45 *Rep. Deputy-Keeper Public Records*, p. 30.) But as it has not his usual emblem of the three children, or the three balls, it is not likely to be he. It struck me it might have been Lawrence Ireland's patron saint, if he had chosen St. Lawrence of Canterbury; but the little animal, I think, is decisive that it is intended for St. Cuthbert. The hair of the figure has been brown, and the constructive features of the mitre gilt. On this piece are no groups of spots.

There is also preserved in the presbytery a mutilated statue of St. Katherine, 2 ft. 4⅞ in. by 9⅝ in. She is represented with a sword, the instrument of her martyrdom, and a sceptre or a palm branch, but so broken that it is impossible to say which.

The hair and tunic have been gilt, the robe linings red. The background, coloured green, shows two groups of six spots. The upper part of the head has been cut away. This figure was probably the centre of the re-table over the altar of the saint. In the back of this panel are still fixed an iron hook and several stumps of latten wire, run in with lead, for securing it in position in the re-table.

Another interesting group, also at the presbytery, represents the Visitation, and is 1 ft. 5 in. by 1 ft. 2¼ in. St. Elizabeth is robed in tunic and mantle, the end of the latter falling over her left arm. She has the matron's hood, and no hair is visible. Our Blessed Lady has tunic and mantle falling straight down. She has a crown, and long unbound hair expressive of her maidenhood. The usual way, in the middle ages, of expressing the Purification of St. John the Baptist was by a star on St. Elizabeth's breast: in this case the hand of our Blessed Lady is laid upon her. Both figures have scrolls. At the sides of these figures are six angels, some with musical instruments, but they have all suffered mutilation. The wings of the angels have been gilt. On the field, which is green, are five groups of six spots each. In the back of the panel are stumps of latten wire for securing it in the re-table, and the lower part is hollowed out to admit of the insertion of a hand to more readily raise it to its position over the altar.

In the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of London is preserved a carved panel of alabaster, depicting the decapitation of St. Katherine, similar in workmanship and decoration to the Lydiate panels, and in which many of the figures in these panels are repeated. The field in this panel is powdered with the groups of six spots each, characteristic of the works of the Nottingham school of carvers. I am informed by Mr. E. W. Cox that the late Major Walter, of Wallasey, possessed an alabaster carving of the Resurrection, similar in treatment to the panels under discussion, the field of which was covered with groups of spots, the significance of which Mr. Cox did not understand. EDITOR.

Communications.

RECENT ANTIQUARIAN "FINDS" IN CHESHIRE.

STONES AND GRAVE AT WEST KIRBY.

QUITE recently, during the levelling and conversion of an orchard behind the rectory into a lawn, several relics were discovered at a depth of about four feet from the surface, which, judging from their character, had apparently been buried at the time of the demolition of most of the old church in the middle of the last century, possibly with a desire to prevent them from being put to common uses, in the same manner that the font, made out of a pillar of the south aisle with its base, and a capital for its bowl, which was also found buried in the front lawn about a year earlier, had been treated. These new finds comprise about half the upper stone of a quern, made of pinkish grey Shap granite, showing a portion of the central hole in which the grain was placed for grinding. The under side is much worn with use. It is not easy to date this fragment, since such hand-mills have been in use from a very remote time down to the Norman period,

when their use was superseded, and the tenants compelled to grind at the manor mill, and to pay the grist tax. The querns were then broken up, though in remote districts their partial use continued to a late mediæval date. The present one might be as old as the urn burials, found some years ago on the hill above the rectory. Another stone found has been a wall stone, which is scored deeply, pointed instruments having been sharpened upon it. It was an ancient custom to hallow weapons for warfare by whetting them on certain stones in a church and sometimes on the churchyard cross. At Sefton and other churches in this locality such stones are to be found. The origin of the custom seems to be derived from pre-Christian practice. Among the British pre-historic settlements in North Wales large stones were set up and thus used; several are mentioned in the Rev. Elias Owen's paper, *Transactions*, vol. ix, page 91. A third stone appears to belong to the jambs of two adjacent windows, showing chamfered reveals on the exterior and splayed jambs within, set about sixteen inches apart, which suggests that they may have formed part of two early English lancet lights, a style of which we have no trace left in any other remnant of the old church. It is remarkable that the tooling seems so little weathered and fresh as to lead to the idea that this was either internal work, or that it was very early removed for alteration in another style, and the stone re-used in walling.

A more interesting though probably much later stone is of the character of a plague stone, such as were set up in the seventeenth century. They were used for the exchange of money for market or other commodities, which were left beside them, and the money was placed in a hollow filled with vinegar, and withdrawn by the seller, thus avoiding contagion.

This stone is in the form of a roughly octagonal pillar, about two feet six inches high; it is left square at the base for the purpose of fixing it in the ground, or, as was usual, in the socket of the mutilated market cross. The upper plane is slightly dished, and has also four shallow hollows, of circular shape, sunk on its centre. The workmanship is rough; and near the foot it has become worn, as though by the attrition of feet or goods placed against it.

Associated with these stones was a fragment of a moulding of a mural monument, ornamented with the peculiar decoration technically called "gadroon," a fashion prevalent in the reigns of the later Stuarts and earlier Georges. This has been painted white, and is plainly internal work. Carefully and well cut in the hard rock, not far from these remains, and about sixty yards east of the present churchyard, a small grave was discovered, about two feet six inches long, and tapering towards the feet, in the fashion of mediæval stone coffins. Unfortunately, it was removed before it could be photographed. It contained no bones or remains, only a dark soil.

Perhaps the most interesting stone found is one that was dug from a grave in the churchyard, near the western end of the church. This has formed a portion of a Saxon building, most likely the jamb of a doorway. It is ornamented with two bands of mouldings, each containing three half-rounds, with a flat space separating the two groups. The central member of each group is worked into a cable moulding. It is now much weathered on this face, showing it to have been an external feature. This stone has been used a second time, in the building of the subsequent Norman church. The half of a head of a small Norman window has been worked in it, cutting across the original

mouldings, which have been turned inwards in the wall. The window is not prepared for glazing, and the face of the stone, originally the back, is scored with radiating lines, copying the voussoirs of an arch; an early and very unusual instance of imitative construction, though not quite unprecedented in early work. The tooling is well preserved, which may be due to the Norman work having been whitewashed, traces of this remaining on the Norman face and the soffit of the window. This stone leads to the inference that a Saxon church of stone, hitherto untraced, has existed here previous to the Norman and mediæval buildings, and is a valuable relic, inasmuch as it indicates something of the style of both these churches.

NAVARESE COIN.

At Caldy, a copper coin, dated 1613, of Navarese origin, was lately found, having the arms of Navarre—an escarbuncle crowned—on the obverse, and F 4 I on the reverse. It has been struck on an irregularly shaped bit of copper, not circular, and the letter F is considered, by an excellent numismatist by whom it was examined, to stand for Ferdinand the fourth, and the letter I that it was coined for the currency of the Spanish Indian possessions.

JARS AND WATER COOLERS, DREDGED UP OFF HOYLAKE OR DUG UP AT PARKGATE.

Two curious water jars, brought up by fishing nets from the sea near Hoylake, were exhibited by the Rev. F. Sanders at a recent meeting of this Society; and two others, of precisely similar ware, were found buried in a garden at Parkgate, and presented to the Grosvenor Museum at Chester by the finder. One of the Hoylake jars is shaped like a barrel, set lengthways on feet, and has two

handles; the other three are globular in the lower parts, with long necks, the upper part of two expanding to a cup or lotus-shaped lip. On each side of the neck are curved, loop handles, the forms strongly resembling early Greek vases. The height is about ten inches. The material is a strong reddish and yellow unglazed clay. It is impossible to give an accurate date for these. Probably they are not very ancient, but may have been lost with some Spanish ship within the last two or three centuries and scattered along the coast. Such ware is still manufactured in Morocco and Northern Egypt, and is still used in Spain for water coolers. The difficulty in allotting a date to these arises from the continuity of the manufacture of vessels of this type from very remote antiquity, resembling, in form and ornamentation, the pottery of the early Greek cities of Mykene, Tyrins, and Argos, and in some degree those very early ones discovered by Schliemann of Ilium. The ornament in these "finds" consists of fine horizontal and vertical lines, incised or dotted in simple patterns; in those still made in Morocco, geometrical patterns, conventional plants, and animals are roughly burnt on in a dark brown glaze, almost exactly reproducing the very earliest Mykenian ware. Such survivals of character in fictile ware are of the highest importance for tracing back the influence of ancient races, but at the same time they demand care and knowledge of attendant conditions to fix their periods accurately.

FLINT AND STONE IMPLEMENTS AND PHŒNICIAN GLASS.

Some further fragments of hand-chipped flints have been found in Spital, also on the boundaries of Bebington and Rock Ferry districts, on high ground. Though the patination of the stone shows the working to be ancient, they are too rude to be called flint tools. One head of a dart, or arrow, of

greenstone, from Spital, and two from Rock Ferry, are more carefully worked, and may be classed as stone weapons. As flints are extremely rare in the geological gravel drifts of this part of the country, those in any way worked are probably mostly imported from a distance for use. At Rock Ferry, within a few hundred yards of the flint weapons, was found the rim of the neck of an ampulla of Phœnician glass—blue, with bands of yellow, corresponding exactly with perfect examples in the Birmingham Museum, dated 600 B.C. As this was found on the surface, it is possible that it may have been a fragment of an antiquity brought hither in recent times and lost; but should other such evidences turn up in future, it is thought well to record this "find" at the present time.

E. W. Cox.

A PAIR OF GOLD MATÉ STANDS,

EXHIBITED BY

MR. ARTHUR MUSCHAMP ROBINSON, F.R.G.S.[1]

THESE two very interesting objects were obtained by Mr. Robinson, when in South America in 1863, from a Bolivian gentleman, in whose family they had remained since the Spanish conquest of Peru. They are of pure and massive gold, in perfect condition, and believed to be unique specimens in this metal of the beautiful Indian ornamental work mentioned by the contemporaneous Spanish writers, Garcilasso, Sarmiento,

[1] The plate of these maté stands is from a photograph kindly taken by Mr. F. K. Glazebrook.

GOLD MATÉ STANDS

in the possession of Mr. A. M. Robinson.

Oviedo, &c. Each stand consists of a boat-shaped receptacle for the gourd, in which the maté is made, with a hinged cover, and a loose top is attached by a gold chain. The stands and covers, excepting an oval space underneath (1¾ inch by 1¼ inch), are covered with fine repoussée work, with the characteristic Inca emblems of the sun and moon constantly repeated. The quaint figures surmounting the stems of the gourds are, no doubt, meant for pumas (sometimes called cougar, *Felis Concolor*, the Peruvian lion), and from their primitive design and the appearance of the gold are evidently contemporaneous work. But the three legs seem to be a subsequent addition, when it was desired to adapt the stands for placing on a table, and they appear to have been adapted from a French design (Louis XIV). The height of the whole is five inches. The two accompanying bombillas are also of comparatively modern work; the originals, probably highly ornamented ones, having disappeared. There are no goldsmiths' or other marks upon the metal-work.

Maté, or, more correctly, *Yerba Maté*, generally known as Paraguay tea, consists of the dried leaves of *Ilex Paraguayensis*, an evergreen shrub which grows in Paraguay and Southern Brazil, and is said to have been used by the Incas from time immemorial; indeed the word maté comes from their language, and originally meant a calabash. The Jesuits in Paraguay were the first to cultivate the plant.

The gourd, or calabash, is made of the fruit of *Crescentia cujete*, about the size of an orange, the tapering end serving for a handle. A circular hole, about the size of a florin, is made, and through this opening the maté is sucked by means of the bombilla—a tube about six inches long, formed either, as in the present instance, of metal, with a

bulb at one end, perforated with minute holes, to prevent the particles of the leaves from being drawn up into the mouth; or the bombilla is made of a reed, with the bulb of very fine basket work.

The drink is prepared as follows:—Some sugar and a little hot water are first placed in the gourd; the maté is then added, and finally the vessel is filled to the brim with boiling water. Lemon juice or milk is sometimes added, and the beverage is then handed round to the company, and the custom is to drink it as hot as possible. The leaves will bear steeping two or three times, but if not drunk soon after it is made the infusion turns black. Maté is generally considered disagreeable by those unaccustomed to it, but it acts as a restorative after fatigue in the same manner as tea, and its still extensive use in countries where tea and coffee are known, indicates that it may possess virtues peculiar to itself. At any rate, the Indian inhabitants of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile believe that maté has great sustaining and invigorating power. And it must be borne in mind that we are indebted to the civilization of the Incas for the discovery of those two other vegetable products, the medicinal values of which are so universally recognised at the present day, viz., quinine (*Chinchona*) and coca (*Erythroxylon Coca*). The properties of the last-named plant appear, indeed, to be only imperfectly understood in Europe even yet.

VISITATION OF WARRINGTON DEANERY BY THE BISHOP OF CHESTER, IN THE YEAR 1592.

THE following abstract of the Visitation of the Bishop of Chester in Warrington Deanery for 1592, is given as an example of a class of documents which is frequently neglected by parish historians. These Visitations were undertaken triennially by the Bishop, and the results entered in large quarto volumes of about 360 pages, though in some cases two consecutive Visitations occur in the same volume. Unfortunately, there is not now remaining at the Diocesan Registry, in Chester, a complete set of these books, but from the year 1554 they are fairly regular.

In the following abstract will be found all the entries as in the original, except that I have given a translation of the Latin phrases, the document being a curious medley of Latin and English. The translated passages are distinguished by being printed in italics. A large number of the cases dealt with were sins against chastity, but as it would have simply been a repetition of legal verbiage to have printed all these, they have been omitted, with the exception of two instances, which will serve as examples of this class of entry.

WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE.

Decanatus Werington 1592.

ACTA HABITA ET GESTA CORAM VENERABILI VIRO DAUIDO YALE LEGUM DOCTORE ETC, PRO REFORMACCIONE CRIMINUM INFRA DECANATO DE WARINGTON . . JX DIE OCTOBRIS 1592.

[115] AUGHTON PARISH.

Against the Churchwardens there:—there bible not sufficient they want the first tome of homilies, Mr Juells Replie and Apologie; noe perambulations; noe collectors for the poore. *Richard Wolfull and Henry Martindale the two churchwardens appeared and the Judge enjoined them* that they buy a sufficient bible *and certify having done so on the next opportunity thereafter.* To levy xijd *of the absents*, and that they go the perambulations.

Against Eleanor the wife of Richard Holden gentleman:—had a child not baptized at her parish church, but supposed to bee baptized contrary to her Majesties lawes. *Excommunicated.*

CHILDWALL PARISH.

Against the Churchwardens there:—the Churche wanteth reparacõn. *Excommunicated.* [Subsequently erased.] [1]*On which day and in which place they* [the churchwardens] *appeared, and because it appears from* [the information of] *John Whittle* that the Church is sufficientlie repaired sins the presentment, he [the Judge] *decreed that they are to be absolved* [from the sentence of excommunication] *by the Vicar there.*

Against Mr Anderton of Lostocke farmer [of the advowson] *there:*—The chancell oute of reparation. *Let him be cited.*

Against Henry Hale of Leuerpoole and Ralph Whitfield:—for pipeinge uppon the Saboath day etc. in the Churchyarde. *Excommunicated.*

Against James Claighton:—for pipinge uppon the Saboath daie in Waretree [Wavertree]. *Excommunicated.*

[116] *Against William Plombes of Great Lawton and Ralph Wainwrighte de Darbie:*—for standing in the churchyarde and talkinge at service and sermon time and [*sic*, for on] the xxvo daie of June last. *Because it appeared from a letter from Edward Hopwood the Vicar there that the said Plombes is an*

[1] From this point the entry is evidently later. Probably the churchwardens did not appear when cited, and were excommunicated; they then appeared by John Whittle on the following court day, with the above result.

honest man, that he frequents the Church and behaves well there, the Judge enjoined the said Plombes by John Whittell the apparitor never in future, etc., under pain, etc. [Wainwright] *excommunicated.*

Against Thomas Mercer of Darbie:—for standinge in the churchyarde and talking at service and sermon time, *i.e.*, Namelie the xxv° day of June last. *Excommunicated.*

Against William Lathom of Alerton and Thomas Greaves of Waretree:—for talkinge in the church at sermon time. *Thomas Greaves appeared whom the Judge enjoined* that he shall confesse his fault in his parish church xxij instant. [Lathom] *excommunicated.*

[2]*Against William Rathbon of Great Wolton and Thomas Plombe of Garston:*—for talkinge in the churchyarde at service time xx° day of Januarie 1592. *William Shurlock, clerk, curate of Hale appeared for the said Thomas Plombe, and the Judge decreed the absolution of the said Thomas* [to be pronounced] *by the said William and that he should be restored to his Church, and admonished the said Thomas through the said William* that hee shall [not] offend in the like any more, *under pain of the law, etc. Whereupon, later, he appeared and was restored and absolved and was enjoined to confess his fault in the parish church of Childwall before two or three honest men, and to certify within two months.* [Rathbone] *excommunicated.*

Against William Wood of Halewood:—a common hawnter of alehouses at service time. *Woddes appeared, whom the Judge enjoined to publicly confess his fault in his parish church on the xxij instant and to certify before the Feast of All Saints.*

Against Henry Capper and Henry Whitfield smith:—for being in the Alehouses at the time of Devine service. *Excommunicated.*

Against John Plumpton and William Ather of Waretree:—for being in the alehowses at time of Devine service. *Excommunicated.*

[117] *Against James Woswall:*—His children come not to bee catechised. *Excommunicated.*

[ST.] ELLEN'S CHAPEL.

Against the Wardens:—The chappell wanteth reparation and all bookes mentioned in the article.

[Note.]—*John Rutter, Reader there, excommunicated.*

Against the Curate there:—Not known whether licensed.

[2] It will be seen from the date that this is a later entry. The culprits did not appear, and were excommunicated; subsequently, however, the curate of Hale appeared for Plombe, with the above result.

HALE CHAPPEL.

Against the wardens:—The wardens appeared and the Judge enjoined them that they shall provyde a sufficient Register Book, a convenient chest, etc., and to levy xij *of the absents, etc., under pain, etc.*

FARNEWORTH CHAPEL.

Against John Linecar Elizabeth his wife and Katherine wife of Thomas Marsh utterlie refuse to come to Devine Service.[3] On the xx day Januarie 1592 *before Dr. David Yale John Linecar appeared and took an oath to obey the law in future whereupon he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication and admonished by the Judge to frequent his church in future diligently under pain of the law. And his wife Elizabeth was, it was decreed, likewise to be absolved by Wm. Shurlock Curate of Hale and ordered to do the same as her husband and both to certify, etc., before Easter.*

[Katharine Marsh] *excommunicated.*

[118] HALSALL PARISH.

Against the Rector:—gave noe monitions for choice of collectors *according to Statute. To repair ommission in future.*

HUITON PARISH.

Against Wm. Brereton of Hareford Esquire:—to repair the chancell ruinated. *Let him be cited.*

Against Hamnet Dichfield gentleman, and Elizabeth wife of Wm. Dichfield gent.:—Noncommunicants for a yeare or more. *Excommunicated.*

xvij day of January 1592. *John Whittle appeared for Hamnet Dichfield gent. and the Judge, because the said John asserts that the said Hamnet and Elizabeth do now regularly come to church, decreed that they should both be absolved, if the Vicar will certify to their frequenting the church. The certificate to be lodged before the Feast of the Purification next.*

Against Margaret the wife of John Dichfield gent., Mary Wofall widow, and Isabella her maid:—Non-communicants for a yeare or more. *Margaret Dichfield as in the case above.* Wofall and Isabella *excommunicated.*

[119] *Against Elizabeth wife of Michael Tildesley of Huiton gent.* [Similar charge.] *Excommunicated.*

Against the wife of Thomas Ballard of Robie and Isabella Rilance of Knowesley Spinster. [Similar charge.] [Result to the wife of Thomas Ballard, same as in the Dichfield action above.] [Rilance] *excommunicated.*

3 Later entry.

Kerkbie Chapel.

Against the Wardens:—They wante collectors for the poore. Edward Leadbeater one of the wardens appeared and the Judge enjoined him to levy xij^{d} of the absents under pain, etc., to provide collectors for the poor.

Leverpoole Parish [*sic*].

Against the Wardens there:—[Blank.] *Excommunicated.*

Leigh Parish.

Against the Wardens there:—There church wanteth reparation. Noe perambulations gone. *George Withington one of the Wardens appeared, and the Judge enjoined him to have the church repaired before the Feast of St. John Baptist and to certify.*

Against Mr. Eaton, Vicar there:—weareth nott the surples but refuseth to weare the same. The youth not instructed by him in catechizinge sins Easter laste. *Mr. Eaton appeared and promised* that hee will not offend in the like anie more and that hee will diligentlie catechize his parishioners and goe the perambulations orderlie.

[120] *Against Gervaise Low, curate there:*—Did weare the surples but once sins Xpemas laste and sins that time hath nott catechized the youth. *Mr. Eaton appeared for the said Low, and Mr. Eaton took upon himself to promise that the said* Low shall hereafter weare the surples orderlie and also bee diligente in catechizinge the parishioners.

Against Simon Mather of Culcheth in the parish of Winwick, Webster, and John Mather of Astley husbandman:—For standinge gazinge walkinge and talkinge in the churchyarde and gave badd wordes to the Churchwardens uppon their admonition. *Excommunicated.*

Against John Chowl als Speakman of Shakerley, Nailer, and James Woodworth of Westhoughton, Parish of Deane, Tailor. [A similar charge.] *Excommunicated.*

Against Thomas Grundie of Astle, husbandman, and *Gilbert Mather son of James Mather* of Aderton, husbandman. *Excommunicated.*

Against George Grundie:—For talkinge in the Church. *Excommunicated.*

Against William Stirrop, schoolmaster. *Not licensed. Excommunicated.*

[121] MAGHULL PARISH.

[Nil.]

MELLINGE CHAPEL.

Against the Wardens:—The churchyarde wall nott made upp, they wante a Communion Booke. *John Pooley appeared and the Judge enjoined him to provyde* a Communion Booke before Xmas next, and to make upp the churchyarde wall before the Feast of S. John Baptist next *and to certify and also to provide* a pulpitt before Xmas nexte.

NORTHMEALES.

Against Ralph Cleaton and Stephen Cleyton, Executors of the will of the last Rec'or there; to repaire the chancell ruinated in his time. *Excommunicated* [for non-appearance]. [Later.] The church in repaire. Ytt appeareth the Chancell is repaired by the Executors sins the presentment and farther by the relation of Mr. Wierden. [Sentence of excommunication recalled.]

Against the Wardens:—the churchyard wanteth reparation, they wante a bible and communion booke. *Excommunicated* [for non-appearance].

ORMISCHURCH.

[122] *Against* Richard Leyland, Robert Hunter, Robert Halsall, and Thomas Moundaie, Churchwardens, have not accompted as yet [rendered their yearly accounts]. *Excommunicated* [for non-appearance].

Against Thomas Wainwright [?], Robert Haslegreave, Robert Harrison, Thomas Whitstone, Miles Barton, John Mellinge, and Ralph Berchwood:—for departinge and not exhibitinge there presentements. *Excommunicated.*

Against Humfrey Sesbridge and Gilbert Wasse:—for standinge in the streete at service time and gevinge the churchwardens evell wordes. *Excommunicated.*

Against James Ascrofte of the Parish of Aughton, Wm. Haworth, and John Penketh. [Similar charge.] [All] excommunicated [for non-appearance]. [Later.] *On the same day Ascrofte appeared and begged to be absolved from the sentence of Excommunication and obtained his request and was enjoined to abstain from like evil conduct in future under pain of excommunication.*

Against Judith Whetstones:—for praieing uppon Beades.

[123] Contra Thomam Weasthead tanner et Margaretam Wesley. Fornicatores. Respectus est idem Thomas in festum Nativitatis Domini proximum, comparuit idem Thomas et Dominus injunxit ei penitentias publicas pro tres dies dominicos in Ecclesia de Ormeschurch in lineis v xij et xix diebus Novembris 1592, et ad habet certificandum citra festum Nativitatis Domini proximum. Deinde comparuit idem Thomas et submisit se juri humiliter petens quantum hujusmodi penitentie in penam pecuniariam commutaretur. Unde Dominus commutavit hujusmodi penitentie in penam pecuniariam viz. in summam xiij^{s} iiij^{d} solvendam vicario de Ormischurche et guardianis ibidem, ante xij Novembris prox. per eos distribuendam inter pauperes et in alios pios usus per dictum vicarium et gardianos appurtinandos et habet ad certificandum citra festum Nativitatis Domini prox. Mulier excommunicata.

PRESCOTT PARISH.

Against Henry Coney. Liveth from his wife and keepeth one Isabell Bowker. *Cite afresh because they are parishioners of Huiton.*

Against the Wardens. They want a faire linnen cloath for the communion table. Noe perambulations. Noe adulterie presented. *Thomas Wooddes and Henry Rothwell the two Wardens appeared*, and the *Judge enjoined them* to provyde a faire linnen cloath for the Communion table *before the Feast of All Saints next and to certify*, and hereafter to use the perambulations and also to provyde a decent communion table before Xmas. And [margin] to make a full presentment within 3 weeks.

Against the Vicar and Curate. Do not catechize the youth. Mr. Meade [?] the Vicar appeared and stated that every Sondaie and holidaie he doth interpreat upon some parcell of Scripture before and after noone. *The Judge enjoined him that hee shall hereafter catechize and to certify the names of such as refuse.*

[124] *Against Henry Lathom of Rainford and Alice Wood*, John Leicester and Anna Bell. *Married without banns. Excommunicated.*

Against Thomas Carter senior, Richard Cowper and John Davies. For plaieing at cardes in James Dichfield's howse att eveninge praier uppon the Saboth daie. *The Judge enjoined him openly to confess his faulte in the parish church at time of Divine Service on the xxij instant.*

Against the said James Dichfield:—For suffering them in his house. [Judgment as in above.]

[125] *Against Wm. Leigh of Middleton:*—Had a child christened, not known where. *Excommunicated.*

Against John Leigh. [Similar charge] and his wife not churched. *Excommunicated.*

Against Thomas Jackson. Bie reporte hath ij wives liveinge. *John Whittle appeared for the said Jackson, and the Judge enjoined him to exhibit* a perfecte certificate of death of one of his wives *before the Feast of the Annunciation.*

Against Elizabeth Denton and Edward Bradshaw. Suspected of suspitious companie. *Excommunicated.*

ST. ELEN'S CHAPEL.

Against John Rutter, Reader there. Married Humfrey Matley and Alice Arrowsmith without banns. *Excommunicated.*

[126] RAINFORTH CHAPEL.

Against Henry Lathom and Margaret his wife. Absent themselves from church. Excommunicated.

Against the Curate. Gave noe monitions. *Excommunicated.*

SEPHTON PARISH.

Against Ralph Williamson. Had a child xpened and his wife churched, not known where. *Excommunicated.*

WINWICKE PARISH.

Against the Wardens of Trinitie and of Newton:—Want Surplesses and Trinitie wanteth a Table cloath. *Henry Devias and Matheus Grene* [?] *appeared and the Judge enjoined them to* provyde a surples and a decent communion cloath before xpemas next, and *to certify, etc.*

Against Xpofer Bodon and his wife. Do not live together. *Excommunicated.*

Against Thomas Grimsford, tailor, and Margery his wife. Do not live together. *Excommunicated.* [Later.] *The man appeared and states that his wife* hath plaied the naughtie packe and dyd roune awaie with another man and is banished out of Newton, and that shee hath putt hym in feare of his liefe. *Whereupon the Judge having regard to the poverty of the man absolved him and admonished him to live with his wife or to show just cause why he should not in future treat her as wife. The woman excommunicated.*

Against Lawrence Pendleburie, Thomas Ainsworth, and Agnes Culchet. Married without banns. Aynsworth appeared and stated that he was married to the said Agnes in the Chapel of Ashton by Richard Winstanley Rector of Weskerbie *without licence or banns being read, and he gave him 2s. 4d. and brought as witness Ralph Litherland, who swore that he was present with others. Wherefore because it appears that the woman is dead, the Judge absolved Aynsworth, restored him to the Sacraments of the Church, and so dismissed him. He decreed that the Rector* [of West Kirby] *should be cited.* [Pendleburie] *excommunicated.*

WARRINGTON PARISH.

Against the Rector there:—The chancell in greate decaie. Noe perambulations. Noe monitions for collectors. *The Rector appeared and the Judge enjoined him to cause the* chancell bie hym selfe or the fermor to be sufficientlie repaired *before the Feast of the Nat. of S. John Baptist next under pain of sequestration of fruits and to certify. Also to publish monitions for collectors.*

Against the Wardens there:—They wante the Bible, the Communion booke, Juell's Replye and Apologie, A comely table coveringe and table cloath and a surples. Noe perambulations. Noe monitions geven for collectors. *George Swanne* [?] *and Thomas Bullen the wardens appeared and affirm that* they have bought a newe Bible. *Whereupon the Judge enjoined them that* they shall provide a Communion booke, Juell's Replye and Apologie, a comelie table coveringe and surples, a Register Booke and Cheste before Xmas nexte and to certify. Thereafter to use the perambulations.

Against Hamnet Motley. Married not known where. *Excommunicated.*

[129] *Against Peter Holebroke and Susan Middleton:—Fornicatores. Excommunicated.* [Later.] *The man appeared and confessed his fault* and saieth hee is to marrie the woman presentlie, and that the time is appointed. *Wherefore the Judge absolved him and also the woman, and in case the marriage be duly solemnized, the Judge decreed that they confess their fault before the Rector of Warrington and the wardens there, and in case they are not married to do the usual penance, and to certify before the Feast of St. Bartholemew next concerning the solemnization of the marriage and also of the confession.*

Against Geffrey Page and his wife:—Do not live together. *The Judge referred the man to the Lord Bishop.*

WALTON CUM DERBIE.

Against Isabella Glest. A scholder swearer and disquieter of her neighbours. *Ordered through the Wardens of Walton, Thomas Smith and John Bolton, that on the xxij instant* she shall publicquely confesse her faulte in her parish church.

Against Isabella Martin, widow. A recusant. *Because it appeared from a letter of Thomas Wainwright, Curate of Derby, brought by John Whittle apparitor, that the said Isabell was* at devine service at Derby chappell the first of October last and resorteth often unto Derby chappell, *the Judge enjoined her* that she shall hereafter dutiefully repaire to Walton church or Derby chappell upon Sondaie and Holiedaies, at time of Divine service *and to exhibit certificate hereof and of her behaviour to Mr. Chancellor, before the Feast of St. Andrew next, under pain, etc., under the hands of the Curate, Vicar, and Churchwardens.*

WIGAN.

Against Nicholas Lowe of Wigan, tailor, *and Elizabeth Haslam of Bolton,* spinster:—Married in the howse of Roger Haslam bie Richard Winstanley, clarke, without banns having been published. *Excommunicated.*

Against William Wood of Wigan, girdler, *and Emma Parre:*—Married without banns or licence. *Excommunicated.*

Against the Rector:—They wante a Chancell, the parson weareth noe surples, hee and the Curate doe not catechize and instructe the youth. *On which day he appeared and the Judge enjoined him* to weare the surples and to catechize dutifullie and orderlie.

[130] *Against John Lowes of Wigan,* webster:—A notorious blasphemer of the name of God. *Excommunicated.*

Against Nicholas Low tailor. A comon swearer. *Excommunicated.*

Against James Sherington. A cursed speaker. *Excommunicated.*

[131] *Against Hamnet Greene and Jane Underwood:*—Live suspiciouslie in howse together. *Hamo Greene appeared and denied any crime. The Judge enjoined him to purge himself by the oaths of 6 honest men, in his parish church on the 29th instant.*

[133] *Against Richard Fraw of Scoles,* pewterer. Oute of charetie. *Excommunicated.*

THE RESTORATION OF ST. WILFRID'S CHURCH, FARNWORTH.

THE term "restoration" has been, unhappily, so often misapplied to the wholesale and reckless destruction of valuable ancient work, and its displacement by modern Gothic and imitation "periods," that it has gained an evil repute with true antiquaries. It is, therefore, the more welcome to be able to record an instance of its application in its true and original sense, to the conservation of such ancient work as remains in the Church of Farnworth.

This Church, about forty years since, suffered seriously from the wrong process of so called restoration, when a fine oak decorated roof was removed from the nave, on the plea that it was constructed on wrong principles, and had thrust the north arcade and north aisle wall out of the perpendicular. As a matter of fact, these had been undermined at their foundations by an enormous number of graves, both within and without the walls, the soil beneath the floor proving to be a mass of human remains. This roof was of very scientific construction, and consisted of principals, arched below the collar beams, the arches springing from bracketed wall pieces, the precursors of the later hammer beams. The feet of these wall pieces were not carried on corbels; their effect was to distribute any thrust of the roof over a large space of wall, and to brace the walls together. Thus, the leverage that would have arisen from the use

of corbels was avoided. The present corbels were added when the modern deal roof replaced the ancient one of oak. Between each main principal was a secondary one, with a collar beam, and without arch or wall pieces. A careful drawing of this roof and the interior, in its then condition, was made by the writer, shortly before its destruction.

The north aisle, removed at this earlier restoration, was roofed with well-moulded ribs, divided by purlins into panels, and had a moulded oak cornice, with well-carved square flowers in the hollow moulding. The arcade was early decorated work, and its eastern bay was fitted as the Bold Chapel, separated from the church on the west and south by oak screens, the mullions of which were moulded and set very closely together, the heads of the openings being cinquefoiled, with two trefoiled sub-tracery openings above. The ceiling of the chapel was low, being flat, and of oak, set in below the aisle roof, and divided into square panels by oak ribs, each panel being sub-divided by diagonal ribs, crossing from the angles. The monuments were in great disorder, and the mailed recumbent effigy had been set upright, and built into a kind of pedestal up to the knees.

The north arcade, north aisle, and chapel were rebuilt, the original features not being followed; and the Bold Chapel was rebuilt in the early decorated style, thus destroying all suggestion of its original date and structure. The east end of the chancel was also rebuilt, the east window being a copy of the original. The remainder of the church had been fitted up in the early Georgian era, with pews and galleries at the west end, and both aisles and pews intruded into the chancel. The south chancel aisle, and the Cuerdley Chapel, which forms a south transept, with a circular stair

turret at the south-west angle, were also filled with galleries of the most ungainly type.

The works recently completed consisted in the removal of the galleries and the comparatively modern pews. Those which were of any antiquity and of oak have been used for lining the lower part of the walls, and the seventeenth and eighteenth century names, dates, and initials cut upon them have been preserved. Some of the best of these, with panels in geometrical patterns, divided by moulded ribs, are used to line the chancel. New open oak seats, of simple but pleasing character, with traceried panels, are placed in the nave. The fronts and ends of the chancel stalls are richly traceried, and their cornices are carved with running foliage. The oak pulpit is also elaborately carved with tracery panels. An oak screen divides the south chancel aisle from the church, and is used as an organ chamber for the new organ. The roof of this chamber, which was of modern and poor construction, has been replaced with oak; and the ancient oak roof of the north aisle, with its crenellated cornice, and that of the Cuerdley Chapel, have been repaired and cleaned. The tower arch, formerly blocked up, is now open to the church, from which it is divided by a seventeenth century screen, having turned oak pillars in the upper portion.

The various changes made in the original church had been effected in the most ruthless fashion, the stonework hacked, the capitals of the north arcade and portions of the arches having been hewn off, to make way for the galleries, and one of the piers of the chancel arch treated in the same way, to accommodate the pulpit. No fragment of the ancient fittings had been spared, except the lower part of the screen of the Cuerdley Chapel, which was ornamented with a fine linen pattern in the

panels. It is to be regretted that the plan of restoration could not retain this *in situ*, as the frame was much decayed, but the panels have been re-used in the holy table.

The internal walls had originally been covered with a thin coat of fine plaster, most likely intended for painted decoration; almost the whole of which had been stripped off, only a patch here and there remaining. One of these, barely a foot square, showed part of a shield of arms, with *four fleur-de-lys*, *Or*, in the Cuerdley Chapel. The devastation of all the original features of the church was something almost incredible, unless a wilful obliteration of them was intended. The repairs have made good the damaged mouldings; the stonework has been pointed and replaced where seriously damaged.

The font, which had been removed to the north aisle, has been replaced near its original site, towards the south door. It originally stood in the south aisle, where provision for drainage was found below the floor.

The Church is now, in spite of all its losses, certainly internally, a beautiful structure. The ancient massive flat oak ceiling of the chancel, divided into square panels, sub-divided by diagonal crossed ribs, with boldly carved bosses at the main intersections, gives great character and dignity to the building. The arcades of the nave, carried on octagon pillars, with variously moulded capitals, are well-proportioned, and are made visible by the removal of the galleries. A new vestry has been built on the north side, in character with the chancel, which latter is mostly late perpendicular in style, with some remnants of decorated work.

During the restoration, evidences of the successive rebuildings and extensions of the Church, of a very interesting character, were disclosed.

At the west end are traces of the original side walls and part of the west end of the building, which show it to have been a structure without aisles, which may possibly have been the plan of the original church, and may be late Norman or early English. No moulding or detail, however, remains, to give a definite date. The first extension seems to have been the addition of a north aisle, about 1280 to 1300 A.D. The arcade for this was not set upon the ancient line of external wall, but about six feet to the north of it. The south wall has also been first, probably, moved a similar distance northwards, and the fine roof, destroyed some years ago, then put on. The next enlargement appears to have been the addition of a south aisle, its arcade being set in from the original outer wall of the south side in the same proportion that the north arcade was set outwards. This alteration is distinctly of later date than the north aisle, and though still within the fourteenth century decorated style, it is in a state of transition to perpendicular work. At this period, too, the present tower was added; but as this stands centrally to the nave of the earlier church, as indicated by the position of the junctions of its side walls with the west end. During the relaying of the floor, the lower part of the west wall crossing the tower arch was uncovered, proving that the earlier church was without a western tower, and the wall had been opened, and the present late fourteenth century tower inserted. The tower, does not stand on the axis of the present building, but on that of the earlier one. Some alterations were made in the north aisle in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

It is probable that the chancel of the thirteenth and fourteenth century church ran continuously with the nave, and had no chancel arch, but a rood

screen only. Part of the masonry is of fourteenth century date. Almost at the close of the perpendicular period it was rebuilt, the east window put in, and the present panelled roof laid over it. As this is of lower pitch than the nave, a chancel arch became needful, to enable the builder to adapt the two roofs of different pitch to each other. This was rather clumsily done, by building piers for the arch against the most easterly pillars of the north and south aisles; the space between the pier on the south and the pillar being filled with rough masonry. Between these piers was thrown the new chancel arch. Foundations of rough stone, for a rood screen, were found below the floor, when that was being re-laid. Below the chancel floor were found fragments of the ancient stalls and bench ends, which had been sawn up to make timbers to carry the flooring, and were, unhappily, past restoration. In the south aisle also, near the Cuerdley Chapel, fragments, including the cill and middle transom of a screen, were found, well moulded, and with traces of red colouring. The bench ends had been carved with panelled tracery of perpendicular character, the poppy heads being of curious form, somewhat trident-shaped, and very rudely carved, resembling closely those found in a similar position at Madeley, in Staffordshire. One of the ends of the chancel stalls, in more perfect condition, with good panelled tracery, and a well-cut poppy head, was found before the earlier restoration, in the town, and was taken away and used to ornament a cottage rockery.

Messrs. Paley and Austin were the architects for this later restoration; but the chief credit for the protection and conservation of the old work lies with the Incumbent, the Rev. J. Wright Williams, who acted throughout as a kind of clerk of the works, and continually consulted the Historic

Society of Lancashire and Cheshire as to the best methods of preserving the ancient features, which he also himself carefully noted and considered during the progress of the works.

E. W. Cox.

POSTCRIPT TO THE PAPER ON SUBMERGED LANDS.[1]

IN the Rev. W. Thornber's excellent *Historical and Descriptive Account of Blackpool*, published in 1837, a record is given of lands and villages submerged at comparatively recent periods. In the case of the very large lost tract of low land at the mouth of the Ribble, now called the Horse Sandbank, some confirmation seems to be given to the theory that the Ribble and the Mersey had, within the range of historical ages, a common estuary, across a wide tract of marsh now represented by sandbanks. Mr. Thornber says :—

"'In the reign of Mary, 1554, a sudden irruption of the sea,' says Dodsworth, 'took place at Rossall Grange. A whole valley, called Singleton Thorpe, was swept away by its fury. The inhabitants were obliged to flee from their ancient spot, and erected their tents at a place called Singleton to this day.' In the reign of Edward I, Thomas de Singleton resisted the king in an action to recover the manor of Singleton. The site is known as Singleton Skin. Two large stones on the shore, called Lower and Higher Gingle, appear to refer to two ancient mansions of that name in the township of Whittingham, parish of Kirkham, which belonged to the family of Singleton. To the south of Blackpool, a village named Waddon Thorpe and an extensive tract of land, now termed the Horse Bank, have been swept away. In Furness, also, a great part of the parish

[1] *Ante*, p. 56.

of Aldingham has disappeared; its church, formerly standing in the centre of the parish, is at present within high-water mark, and secured from the ravages of the sea by strong defences of mossy stone. The ruins of the village of Low Scoles were, within the memory of man, visible on the sands, and the hamlets of Crinleton and Ross are only known in records. Our old people often relate that their father's were wont to say that the sea was peculiar in their days; and a particular Sunday, about seventy-two to seventy-three years ago, is named, when, owing to a change of current, caused by the bursting of some sand-bank, or an elevation of the bottom of the sea, an immense body of water advanced to the shore at the influx of the tide. From that day our fathers date the recommencement of the encroachments on the land."

This record, being the last we have of sudden, and subsequent gradual, submersion, is important for comparison with the analogous traditions of antiquity, and should tend to abate the strange incredulity which resists the evidences of material changes in the coast lines of Britain within the range of history.

E. W. Cox.

REPORT, 1894.

During the year the Society has lost, by death or resignation, no fewer than twenty-nine members, while only nineteen have been elected during the same period. Among those who have died are—Miss ffarington, of Worden Hall, a very old member, who at one time gave much time to elucidating points in the history of Lancashire; and Mr. Abram, the Blackburn antiquary.

Ten papers were read at the Society's meetings during the year.

In September, a bulky and copiously illustrated volume of the Society's *Transactions*, for the year 1893, being the ninth of the new series and forty-fifth since the foundation of the Society, was issued.

Under the able and energetic guidance of Mr. William Fergusson Irvine, to whom great credit is due on this account, three excursions were made during the Summer, namely, to Thurstaston and Irby, to Halsall, and to Birkenhead Priory, and Great Storeton and Brimstage Halls. These were attended by a good number of members and their friends, to whom they gave, it is hoped and believed, considerable pleasure.

MEMBERS ELECTED, 1894.

Feb. 22. Thomas Kissack.
„ 22. Frank Musker.
Apr. 16. Richard Bennett.
May 3. J. E. Gray Hill.
„ 3. Edgar Eccles.
Nov. 1. H. G. Tippett.
„ 1. W. D. Mead.
„ 1. George Harris.
„ 1. Rev. W. Warburton.
„ 1. A. S. Sheldon.
Nov. 1. David Scott.
„ 1. Alfred Cornett.
„ 1. T. E. Carson.
„ 1. William Pilkington.
„ 1. J. A. Waite.
„ 1. S. W. Phipps.
„ 1. E. E. Dunthorne.
„ 29. Robt. de Grey Vyner.
„ 29. Thomas Pilkington.

PAPERS READ. 1894.

Jan. 25. "The Roll of Battle Abbey, so far as it relates to Lancashire and Cheshire."
Rev. A. E. P. Gray, M.A., F.S.A.

Feb. 8. "The Value of Archæology in Legal Matters."
W. O. Roper.

„ 22. "Alabaster Carvings at Lydiate: the Legend of St. Katherine." Rev. Edward Powell.

Mar. 8. "Lydiate Hall." Henry Taylor.

„ 22. "Extracts from Archdeacons' Visitations in the Sixteenth Century—Warrington Deanery." Part 2.
W. Fergusson Irvine.

Apr. 5. "The Duke of Monmouth's Progress in Cheshire, in 1682." J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

Nov. 1. "The Recovered Plan of Birkenhead Priory."
Edward W. Cox.

„ 15. "The Earl Marshal's Court: Heralds and Heraldry before the Incorporation of the College of Arms."
George Grazebrook, F.S.A.

„ 29. Ditto, ditto. Part II. Ditto.

Dec. 13. "On an Ancient Boat, discovered near Warrington."
Charles Madeley and William Owen, F.R.I.B.A.

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